

*Herod and Pilate reconciled:*

O R,

**THE CONCORD OF**  
**PAPIST AND PURITAN (A-**  
*gainst Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and other*  
*Orthodoxall Writers) for the Coercion,*  
*Deposition, and Killing*  
*of KINGS.*

Discouered by

*David Owen Batchelour of Diuinitie,*  
*and Chaplaine to the right Honourable Lord Viscount*  
*HADINGTON.*

*Tunc inter se concordant, cum in perniciem iusti conspirant, non  
quia se amant, sed quia cum qui amandus erat simul ade-  
runt. August. in Psal. 36. concion. 2.*

T. DOWNEY



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1610.





## TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, SIR JOHN RAMSEY

Knight, Lord Vicount Haddington, one of the most Honourable Gentlemen of the Kings Majesties bed-chamber, my singular good Lord, and Master.

Did suppose (*my very good Lord*) that the semblable opposition of Papist and Puritan, against the Protestant, concerning the *supremacie Ecclesiastical, and De-position of Kings*, might haue beeene contriued into a fewe sheetes of paper; which I finde both tedious, and intricate: because the opponents, (though they agree against Kings, as *Herod and Pilate* did against *Christ*) are at diuers irreconciliable iarres among themselues. And no manuell, *qua menda-cy multiplex diuortium*: Liers never agree in one tale. There are among the *Papists* three different opinions concerning the *Popes power ouer Kings*. The first opinion (which <sup>a</sup> *Alexand. Car.*  
*de pontif. Rom.*  
*Pontif. lib. 3. c. 6.*) holdeth, that the Pope hath absolute power ouer all the world, both in Ecclesiastical, and Politicall things. The second opinion is *Bellarmino*, <sup>b</sup> *Bellar. de*  
*pontif. lib. 3. c. 6.* who affirmeth, that though the Pope haue not meere temporall power ouer Kings, and kingdomes, directly; yet hath he supreame authoritie to dispose of the Temporalities of all Christians, as well

as of Kings,

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Kings, as others, by an indirect prerogative, tending to the aduancement of the spirituall good. The third is the opinion of <sup>e</sup> *Barclay*, who auerreth, that the *Pope* hath spirituall power to excommunicate Kings, but no temporall authoritie, directly, or indirectly, to afflict the persons of Kings, to transpose their kingdomes, to perswade外国人 to make warres, or subiects to rebell against them. And with him agreeth *M. Blackwell*<sup>d</sup> in his letter to the *Romish Catholiques of England*, wherein he saith, that the keyes Ecclesiastical, doe no way extend themselues by Gods law, vnto kingdomes terrene, to open or shut, to tolle, or turmoile any of them, they haue no wardes in them, to turne, or overturne Kingdomes, or to open any lawfull entrance, into such disobedient and doubefull countes. Wherefoeuer (most noble Lord) any *Papist* hath laid a stepping-stone in this water of strife, any man may plainly trace the *Puritanes* treading. Although they denie an yniuersall absolute power ouer all Kings, which the *Pope* claymeth, they contend for a nationall soueraigntie, in every kingdome, ouer Kings, to dispose of them and their kingdomes. Although the *Popes* (saith *Christopher Goodman*)<sup>e</sup> for sundrie enormities, haue deposed Kings, by unlawfull authoritie; the reason that mooued them so to doe, was honest, and iust, and meete to be received, and executed by the bodie of every common-wealth. hæc ille. The Statesmen of the kingdome (saith <sup>f</sup> *Lambertus Daneus*) may punish their King when he transgresseth the fundamentall lawes of the kingdome, yea if he be obstinate, they may deprive him of his roiall dignitie. *M. Beza* <sup>g</sup> in a scholasticall disputation (one *John Iobert* beeing Respondent) did determine, that the officers of State, such as are the 7. Electors in the Empire of the Romanes, and the Three States in every Mo-

<sup>e</sup> *Guliel Bar-*  
*clay, cont. mo-*  
*narchomacos, l.*  
*3. cap. 8.*

<sup>d</sup> In the letter  
annexed to his  
large examina-  
tion at Lam-  
beth, p. 157.

<sup>e</sup> *Treatise of*  
*obedience, pag.*  
*52. 53.*

<sup>f</sup> *Polit. Christ.*  
*1. 6. c. 3. p. 456.*

<sup>g</sup> *Theses Gene-*  
*venses, p. 249.*

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narchie, haue authoritie to repreffe tyrannous Princes: which if they doe not, they shall answer before God, for their treacherie against the people. Dudley Fenner an English Sectarie, iumpeth with them: *He is a Tyrant by practise* (saith <sup>h</sup> Fenner) <sup>h. Sacra Theologia, lib. 5 c. 13.</sup> that dissolueth all, or the chiefeſt compacts of the Commonwealth, let them that haue that authoritie, as the Peeres of the kingdome, or the publike asſembly of all Estates, make him away, vel pacifice, vel cum bello, either by peaceable practise, or open hostilitie. Cardinall Bellarmine giueth this reaſon for the Popes indirect power ouer Kings: \* *The Ecclesiasticall Commonwealth must be* (saith he) <sup>\* De Pontif. 1.5. cap. 7.</sup> perfect, and of it ſelue ſufficient, to attaine unto the ende whereunto it was ordained: for ſuch are all Commonwealths that are well iuſtituted. Therfore it ought to haue all neceſſarie power, to attaine to the ſpirituall end, but power to diſpoſe of all temporaliſties, is neceſſarie to the ſpirituall end: for otherwife euill Kings will foster heretikes, and ouerthrow religion, wherfore the Church hath this power. *Hæc ille. Banofus a Puritan in a tractate of Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall Politie, hath the very ſame reaſon, for the power of the Presbiterie: i If the Church* (saith he) <sup>i lib. 2. pag 41.</sup> haue not power, by forcible meaneſ to compell all ſorts of men to liue in order, this abſurditie will follow, euen under a faithfull magistrate, that the Church can not defend her ſelue, with her owne forces. What (I pray you) will become of the Church, when the Magiſtrate is either an Infidel, or ſo negligent, as to ſuffer euill to be done without punishment? and those things which are hallowed to be profane, or remoued? Should not the Church be verily ouerthownde in theſe caſes, if it had not peculiар right to make powerfull reſiſtance? *Hæc ille. I apeale (my good Lord)* to the conſciences of all good men, whether this reaſon of Bellarmine and Banofus be not a wicked ouerthwarting

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of the counsell of God, and his gratiouse prouidence, towards the Church, yea an open bewraying of their vnaquiet hearts, and seditious disposition. Our Saviour Christ (foreseeing and foreshewing, that his Disciples the chiefe pillars of the Church, should be brought before Kings,

<sup>k</sup> Matth. 10.18. & c. 24. 9.  
<sup>l</sup> Matth. 24.13.

<sup>m</sup> Luk. 21.19.

<sup>n</sup> Matth. 10.23.

<sup>o</sup> Psal. 50.15.

<sup>p</sup> Mat. 5.10. 12.

<sup>q</sup> Resp. Danxi  
ad Bellarm de  
pontif. lib. 5.  
cap. 7. pag. 541.

*hated of the world, yea and put to death <sup>k</sup> for his names sake, }  
teacheith not, to resist, or rebell, but to abide, and endure, not with violence to withstand authoritie, but <sup>m</sup> with patience to possess their soules. This is a remedie against Tyrants, and there is no other meanes reuealed in the word of God against persecution then <sup>n</sup> *Desertion*, if they persecute you in one citie, flic to an other: or <sup>o</sup> *Praier and Patience*; *Happie are you, when men shall doe all manner of euill unto you for my names sake, rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen*. Let not man therfore resist their power, which God ordained, but with all meeknes endure persecution in earth, that they may be crowned in heauen. *Lambertus Daneus a Puritane of the best note, doth freely graunt Bellarmines Thesis, viz. that there is a power in ordine ad spirituallia, to punish kings: denying his hypothesis, viz. that the Pope hath such power. This beeing granted (saith Daneus) that Bellarmine contendeth for: it doth not followe that the Bishop of Rome, or any other Prelate, hath temporall iurisdiction ouer that ciuill Christian Magistrate, which doth either enact lawes against the spirituall determination: or gouerne the Commonwealth contrarie to the spirituall regiment of the Church. We confess those lawes, and that gouernement, should be reformed, but it ought to be done, by the publike assembly, by the Parliament of the kingdome, or by the Peeres themselves of the whole kingdome. Yea in case the king deserue to be deposed, the Pope, and other Bishops, or Priests, haue**

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hauie no right to dethrone him: \* *Verum id fieri debet a consilio publico, a Parlamento regni, vel ab ipsis regni ordinibus,* but that ought to be done by the publike Councell, the Parliament of the kingdome, or by the Estates of the land: *Hec ille.* Thus farro (my good Lord) they agree in substance, touching the punishment, and deprivation of Kings, though they vary in this point of circumstance, whether the Pope, the Peeres, or the people shall punish or depose them.

As concerning the third opinion, which is for the excommunication of Kings; all Presbyteries which are the tribunall seates of Iesus Christ (as Beza saith in his book against *Erasmus*) do challenge right and power, as Christ's immediate Commissaries in earth, to excommunicate the chiefe Christian Magistrates, as may appeare by these places: *viz.* *Beza de Presbyterio*, pag. 115. *Thomas Cartwright* in his last reply, pag. 65. *Lambertus Daneus* in his Christian Policy, *lib. 3. pag. 232.* *Gellius Sncanus* in his booke of discipline, pag. 456. *William Bucanus* in his common places of Diuinitie, pag. 582. *Hermanus Renekerus* in his obseruation vpon the first Psalme, pag: 68. The counterpoyson, pag. 175. The humble petition to the late Queene, pag. 55. And the defence of discipline against *M. Bridges*, pag. 127. And this power, hauie they put in practise to the glorie of *Sion*, against diuerse kings in the Christian world, as the said *disciplinarian* \* *Champion* boasteth, in more then insolent manner. Consider (honourable Lord) whether any King may thinke his state secure, where euery offence, though but suspected, doth procure a citation, euerie citation, doth inforce apparence, euery apparence doth vrge confession, or inioyne purgation,

\* Neither barell  
better herring.  
Item ibidem  
pag. 547.

Theodorus Be-  
za, pag. 116.  
Guli. Zeppe-  
rus.  
Discipl. Ecclesi.

Thos. Cart-  
wright.  
Lamb. Daneus.  
Gellius Sncan.

Willm. Bucanus  
Herm. Reneker.  
The counter-  
poyson.  
The humble  
petition.  
The defence of  
discipline a-  
gainst M. Bridges.

\* pag. 128.

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and the least contempt doth breed a contumacie, to drawe the greatest censure. These Parisb. popes shall never be able to shewe any record in the sanctuarie, or practise of Prelates, for a thousand yeares after Christ to warrant this

f De potest. reg. & papal. cap. 13. Ecclastic Minister of God must rather submit his life to the Prince's pleasure then admit him to the Sacrament, that sheweth manifest tokens of impietie, or infidellitie: but the Puritan speake not of the Church ministerie, but of their Lordly consistorie, as the Papists doe of the Popes: court: whom not God but the Devil and Antichrist hath exalted ouer Kings.

Puritan popish inancke of proceeding against Princes. I like well of the opinion in *John de Parisys* concerning the power of the keyes. *Non quilibet peccator, &c. Every offender, neither is nor ought to be subiect to the power of the keyes, and Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, but the sinner which is subiect thereto.* And therefore the said power hath no effect, except against them that are subiect unto it, which subiect, maketh a man fit matter, whereupon the power of the keyes hath his effectuall operation. *Hac ille.*

The politique Puritans meddle not with this dangerous question, of Depositing and Killing of Kings, but stand aloofe, to give ayme, while other desperat, archers shoothe, that if they misse, they may step aside to sauue themselues, or in case the marke be hit, they may step in to part the stakes. I accuse not without cause: M. Beza beeing seriously consulted by some brethren of England, whether inferiour officers, might not lawfully arme themselues, against him, who beeing lawfully confirmed Magistrate, doth take away the privilegeds, and infringe the liberties, which he hath sworne to performe to the subiects; or doth oppresse them with manifest tyrannie, &c. returned this fectlesse

u Beza epist. 14. cogitmur in tixier: We must demurre upon this point, not onely because it is dangerous (specially in our time) to set open such a window, but also for that we may not determine the state of this question, simply as you propound it, but upon consideration of many most waightie circumstances.

x Iaq; in hoc Aphorismo inlycous.

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fore for the present we deferre our answer to your demand. Thus Beza demurred at Geneva, in *communit frarum ex  
verbe, & agro collectorum cetero*, in the common assembly of the Brethren, out of the Citie, and Suburbes: 25. Inij. Anno Domini. 1568. the very yeare before Morton the Popes Nuncio, came to England, to stirre vp alie Peetes of the North, against our late Queene, for pretended heresie, and tyrannie. While the proposition was demurred at Geneva, the Assumption was framed at Rome, and the conclusion practised by traytors in England; could not Beza answer? why did he not confess it? or if he could, why doth he dissemble it? It is truth without colour that must direct the conscience, and settle the simple, desirous to be resolued. *Dissimulation* is but dawbing with vntempered morter, ~~ad perditionem hominum~~ in sermone mendacij, to bring men to destruction, with the words of lying: and a verie readie way to bring religion to scandale Princes to icalousie, and male-contented men to mutinie. I haue endeououred (according to my mediocritie of learning) to set downe the iudgement of the Church of God in all the former ages, concerning the *Authoritie of Kings*, and the *Dutie of subiects*, that the late learning of *Papist* and *Puritane*, (compared with the old doctrine of ancient Orthodoxals) may appeare to be as new as it is naught: which I offer to your Honourable protection, aswell in respect of your *dutie to God*, as of my *service to your Lordship*. Your *dutie to God*: for he that hath made you his *instrument of honour* to saue the *Kings life*, doth require at your hands, the maintenance of the *Kings right*. And seeing it hath pleased you, to admit me into the number of your servants, I hope you will fauourably

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bly accept of this my seruice, wherein I doe my best endeavour, to make vp the gappe against Schisme in the Church, and sedition in the State. The great God, and King of heauen graunt your Lordship many dayes, much honour, the loue of your Countrie, inward peace, and euerlasting glorie. From Clarchall in Cambridge. 12. Octo.

1610.

Yours very humblye & obediencie  
John Foxe Chaplaine to the  
Kinge of Englande

Your Lordships Chaplaine

*bumbly devoted,*

# DAVID OVVEN.

To the dutifull Subject.

**H**e Puritan-Churche-Polieie, and the Iesuicall societie began together: <sup>a</sup> the one in Geneva, 1536. and the other in Rome, 1537. since their beginning, they haue bestirred themselues busily (as he that compasseth the <sup>b</sup> earth, or they that coasted <sup>c</sup> sea & land,) each one in his order. The Puritan to breake downe the wall of Sion, by disturbing the peace of the reformed Church: the Iesuite to build vp the ruines of Babylon, by maintaining the abomination of the deformed Synagogue. These (though brethren in sedition and headie) are head-sundered, the one staring to the presbyterie, and the other to the Papacie, but they are so fast linked behind, and tayle-tied together with firebrands betweene them, that if they be not quenched by the power of Maiestie, they cannot chose (when the meanes are fitt to their plot) but set the Church on fire, and the state in an vprore. Their many and long prayers, their much vehement preaching, and stout opposition against orders establisched, their shewe of austoritie in their conuerstation, and of singular learning in their profession, (as the euill fiend transformed into an angel of light) brought them first to admiration. Whereby they haue not onely robbed widows houses vnder pretence of prayer, and ransacked their seduced disciples by shew of

<sup>a</sup> See M. Hockers preface. And the preface of Chemnic before his examen against the first part of the Councell of Trent.  
<sup>b</sup> Job.1.7.  
<sup>c</sup> Matth.23.15.

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devotion, but also battered the courts of *Princes*, by animating the *Peeres* against *Kings*, and the *people* against the *Peeres* for pretended reformation. And whereas God hath inseparably annexed to the *crowne of earthly maiestie*, a *supreme ecclesiasticall soueraintie* for the protection of *pietie*; and an absolute *immunitie* from the *iudicall sentence*, and *Martiall violence*, for the *preseruation of policie*: These *sectaries* bereauie *Kings* of both these their *Princely prerogatives*, exalting *themselves* (as the *soune of perdition*) above all that is called *God*: Least they might seeme *sine ratione insanire*, to sowe the *seedes of sedition* without shewe of *reason*, *Cadent faciunt scripturarum* (as the *heretikes* in *Tertullians* time were wont to doe) *in materia suam*, they kill the *Scripture* to serve their turnes: and pervert the *holy word* of the *eternall God*, by *strange interpretation*, and *wicked application* against the *meaning* of the *Spirite*, by whom it was *penned*; the *doctrine* of the *Church*, to whom it was *deliuiered*; and the *practise* of all the *Godly*, (as well *vnder the Lawe* as *the Gospel*) that did *beleeue*, *understand*, and *obey* it; to *maintaine* their late, and *lewd* *opinions*. I haue in my hand *aboue* *fortie* *several places* of the *old and new Testament*, which both the *brethren* of the *enraged opposite faction* doe *indifferently* *quote*, and *seditionisly* *apply*, in *defence* of their *dangerous opposition*, and *damnabile error*, against the *Ecclesiasticall supremacie*, and the *indeuble character* of *royal inuincion*. Vnto the which places, fassly expounded, perverted, and applyed, I haue added the *interpretation*, of the learned *Protestants* since the time of *Martin Luther*, who began to discouer the *nakednesse* of the *Roman Church*, 1517. More especially insisting in the <sup>a</sup> most *mighty*

a K. Henry 8.  
K. James.  
Th. Cranmer.  
Io. Whigift.  
Rich. Bancroft  
Archb. of Cant.  
Henry Earle of  
Northampton.  
Robert Earle of  
Salisbury.

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mighty Kings, the most reverend Prelats, honourable Lords, loyall Clergie, and other worthie men, that haue in the Church of England, learnedly defended the Princely right, against disloyall, and vndutifull opponents: which by Gods helpe I meane to publish, when I haue added the exposition of the Fathers, to confute the falsehood of the *Puritan-popish-faction*, & to confirme the truthe of the *Protestants Doctrine* in each particular quotation. I protest in all sinceritie, that I neither haue in this treatise, nor meane in the other, *hereafter to be published*, to detort any thing, to make either the *cause* it selfe, or the *fauourers* of it more *odious*, then their owne words, (published with the generall approbation of their severall fauorites) doe truely inferre, and necessarilie inforce. I hope the loyall subiect, and *Godly* affected, will accept in good part my endeauour, and industrie, intended for the glorie of God, the honour of the *King*, and the discouerie of the *seditions*. The displeasure of the *malecontented-factions* (which can no more abide the truth, then the owles can light, or the frantique the Physician) I neither regard nor care for. Farewell.

The L. Burleigh  
Ltreasurer of  
England.  
The L. Elsnere  
Lchancellor of  
England.  
Th. L. Stafford.  
The L. Cooke.  
B. Jewell.  
B. Horn.  
B. Pilkington.  
B. Elmers.  
B. Couper.  
B. Billon.  
B. Babington.  
B. Andrewes.  
B. Barlowe.  
B. Bridges.  
D. Ackworth.  
D. Sarauia.  
D. Cofens.  
D. Sutcliffe.  
D. Prythergh.  
D. Wilkes  
D. Morton.  
D. Töcker.  
M. Bekir. saw.  
M. Foxe.  
M. Nowell.  
M. Hooker, &  
many others.

### Errata.

Pag. 10.l.15. for subtilly, read subtily. p. 17.l.4. *presto*, for *preſto*. p. 19.l.25. *Sabanius*, for *Sabinianus*. p. 34.l.27. odience, for obedience. p. 37.l.13. his, for this. p. 39.l.5. as very foole, for, as very a foole. p. 47.l.1. *regnun*, for *regum*. p. 48.l.17. Prince, for Princes.

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*The first Chapter prooveth by the testimo-  
nye of Scripture, that Kings are not punishable by  
mansions reserved to the judgement  
of God.*



IN. G. S. haue their authoritie from God,  
and are his Vicegerents in earth, to exe-  
cute justice and iudgement for him a-  
mongst the sonnes of men. All subiects  
(as well Prelates and Nobles, as the infe-  
rior people) are forbidden with the  
tongue, to revile Kings<sup>d</sup>, with the heart, to  
thinke ill of them<sup>e</sup>, or with the hand, to resist them<sup>f</sup>. The  
great King of heauen doth impart his owne name vnto his  
Lieftenants the Kings of the earth: and calleth them Gods,  
with an *ego dixi*, whose word is *Yea* and *Amen*: with this  
onely difference, that these Gods shall die like men<sup>g</sup>, and fall  
like other Princes. Wherefore *Nathan* the man of God,  
must reprooue *David*, that he may repent, and be sau'd.  
And the Sages, judges, and Nobles (without feate or flato-  
rie) must aduise and dire *Roboam*<sup>h</sup>. Other attempts against  
Kings, the King of Kings hath neither commanded in his  
law, nor permitted in his Gospel. *David* (faith *Ambrose*) *nullius*  
*legibus tenebatur*, &c. *David* though he were an adulterer, and  
an homicide, was tied to no law: for Kings are free from  
bonds, and can by no compulsion of law, be drawne to pu-  
nishment, beeing freed by the power of government. Thus  
farre *Ambr.*

<sup>a</sup> Rom. 13.4.

<sup>b</sup> Prov. 8.4.

<sup>c</sup> 2. Chron.  
19.6.

<sup>d</sup> Exod. 22.

<sup>e</sup> 28.

<sup>f</sup> Hecl. 10.10.

<sup>g</sup> Rom. 13.2.

<sup>h</sup> Psa. 82.6.

<sup>i</sup> Psa. 82.7.

<sup>j</sup> 2. Sam.

<sup>k</sup> 12.7.

<sup>l</sup> 1. Reg. 13.7

*Apolo-*

*David cap.*

<sup>m</sup> 10.

*Saul the first King of Israel was rather a monster, then a man: after the spirit of God had forsaken him, and the euill spirit was come vpon him<sup>m</sup>.* There were not many sinnes against God, Man, or Nature, wherein he transgressed not; yet his excesse was punished, neither by the Sacerdorall Synod, nor the secular Senate: *Who can lay his hand on the Lords Anointed, and be guiltlesse?* The very Annoyntment was the cause of Sauls immunitie from all humane coercion: as *Augustine affirmeth, Quero si non habebat, Saul sacramenti sanctitatem, quid in eo David venerabatur?* If Saul had not the holiness of the Sacrement, I aske what it was that David reuerenced in him? he honoured Saul for the sacred and holy vniōn, while he liued: and revenged his death. Yea, he was troubled and trembled at the heart, because he had cut off a lappe of Sauls garment. Loe, Saul had no innocencie, and yet he had holiness: not of life, but of vniōn. So farre *Augustine*.

Who questioned *David* for his murther and adulterie? who censured *Salomon* for his idolatrie? though their crimes were capitall by the law of God. After that kingdome was diuided, all the Kings of *Israel*, and most of the Kings of *Judea*, were notorious idolaters: yet during those kingdomes, which endured aboue 200. yeares, no Priest did chalenge, no States-men did claime power from the highest, to punish or depose their Princes. And the Prophets perswaded all men to obey, and endure those idolatrous Princes, whose impietie they reprooned with the losse of their liues.

*Christ* fled when the people would haue made him a King<sup>a</sup>. He paied tribute for himselfe and *Peter*<sup>b</sup>. When the question was propounded concerning the Emperours subdie, he concluded for *Caſar*<sup>c</sup>. And standing to receive the judge-

<sup>a</sup> Joh. 6.15.

<sup>b</sup> Matth. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Matth. 22.

<sup>21.</sup>

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3

judgement of death before Pilate, he acknowledged his pow-<sup>e</sup> <sup>10b.19.41.</sup> er to be of God<sup>a</sup>. This *Sauour of Mankind*, whose actions should be our instruction, did never attempt to change that government, or to displace those gouernours, which were directly repugnant to the scope of reformation that he ay-<sup>e</sup> med at.

*John Baptist* did indeede reprooue king Herod with a *Non* <sup>c</sup> <sup>Mark.6.18</sup> *liver*, but he taught not the soildiers to leaue his seruice, or by strife and impatience, to wend themselves out of the band of allegiance, wherein the *law* had left them, and the *Gospel* found them<sup>f</sup>.

The *Apostles* deliuered vnto the Church the doctrine of obedience and patience, which they had learned by the pre-  
cept, and obserued by the practise of our Lord Christ. *Peter* commandeth obedience to all manner of men in authori-  
ties. *Paul* forbiddeth resistance against any power<sup>h</sup>. And *S.* <sup>g</sup> <sup>1. Pet.2.13.</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>Rom.13.</sup> *Iude* maketh it blasphemie, to revile government, or to speake euill of gouernours. If therefore an *Angel* from heauen preach <sup>i</sup> <sup>1. Pet.3.4.</sup> otherwise, then they haue deliuered, let him be accursed<sup>j</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Luk.3.14.

<sup>i</sup> 1. Pet.3.13.

<sup>h</sup> Rom.13.

<sup>j</sup> 1. Pet.3.4.

<sup>k</sup> Gal.1.8.

## The second Chapter prooueth the same.

by the Fathers of the first 300. yeares.

**T**He true Church, which had the spirit of understand-  
ing, to discerne the voice of Christ, from the voice of a stranger, never taught, never practised, never used or ap-  
rooued other weapons, then salt teares, and humble praier  
against the *Paganisme*, *heresie*, *apostacie*, and *tyrannie* of earthly  
Kings.

*Justinus Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian*, shall beare wit-  
nesse for 300. yeares, wherein the Kings and Potentates of

the earth, bathed themselves in the blood of innocents, and professed enmitie against Christ and his servants.

*Ad inquisitionem vestram Christianos nos esse profitemur, &c.*

At your inquisition, we professe our selues to be Christians, though we knowe death to be the guerdon of our profession ( faith *Justine Martyr* to the Emperour *Antoninus*, ) did we expect an earthly kingdome, we would denie our religion, that escaping death, we might in time attaine our expectation: But we feare not persecution, which haue not our hope fixed on the things of this life, because we are certaintly perswaded, that we must die. As for the preservation of publique peace, we Christians yeeld to you (O Emperour) more helpe and assistance, then any other men. For we teach, that no euill doer, no couetous man, nor seditious, that lieth in wait for blood, can haue accessie to God: And that euerie man doth passe to life or death, according to the merit of his deeds: Thus farre he.

We (saith *Tertullian* to *Scapula*, the Viceroy of *Carthage*) are defamed, for seditions against the Imperial Maestie: Yet were the Christians never found to be *Albinians*, *Nigrians*, or *Cassians*, (*Albinus*, *Niger*, and *Cassius* were traytors against *Marcus Antonius*, *Commodus*, *Pertinax*, and *Severus* the Emperours) but they that sware by the Emperours dietie, the very day before: they that vowed and offred sacrifice for the Emperours health, are found to be the Emperors enemies. A Christian, is enemie to no man, much lesse to the Emperour: knowing, that the Imperial maestie, is ordained of God, and therefore necessarily to be loued, reuerenced, and honoured, whose prosperitie, together with the welfare of all the Romane Empire they desire so long as the world standeth. We doe therefore honour the Emperour, in such sort,

hort, as is lawfull for vs, and expedient for him: we reue-  
rence him as a mortall man, next vnto God, of whom he hol-  
deth all his authoritie, onely subiect to God, and so we make  
him, soueraigne ouer all, in that, we make him subiect, but  
to God alone: So farre *Tertullian.*

*S. Cyprian* sheweth many good reasons, for the patience  
of the Saints, in his booke against *Demetrianus*. God (saith  
he) is the reuenger of his servants, when they are annoied.  
Wherfore no Christian when he is apprehended, doth re-  
sist or revenge himselfe against your vnjust violence, though  
the number of our people be very great. The confidence we  
haue, that God will reward, doth confirme our patience,  
the guilfesse giveth way to the guilty, the innocent rest con-  
tent with their vndeserved punishment, and tortures, béeing  
certainely assured that the wrong done to vs, shall not be vn-  
rewarded. The more iniurie we suffer, the more iust and  
grieuous shall Gods vengeance be on them that persecute  
vs. It is therefore cleare and manifest, that the plagues which  
come downe from Gods indignation, doe not come tho-  
rough vs poore persecuted Christians, but from him whom  
we serue, for the wrong done vnto vs. So farre *Cyprian.*

As many as liued according to Christes institution, did ne-  
uer reuile the gouernement of Tyrants, much lesse by force  
resist their violence, following the patience of Christ, who  
could by his owne power, the might of his Angels, or the  
strength of his creatures, haue at the first withstood, or at  
the last reuenged, the iniurie of the people, the buffer of the  
Priests seruant, the scorne of *Herod*, the iudgement of *Pilate*,  
and the violence of the souldiers. He yeelded himselfe pain-  
tely to death, to teach all his disciples, that an iniurie done  
by authoritie, is patiently to be endur'd, not forcibly to be

Tob. 13. 15.

10. 18. 22.

Luke 21. 11.

Mark 15. 39.

Matthew 27.

27. 28. 29.

repelled. As soone also as *Paul* became a Christian, his seditious and bloody spirit, which he had learned of the Pharisees, was changed into a desire of peace, and quietnesse. He honoured the heathen Magistrates, as *Agrrippa*, *Felix*, and *Lisias*, ratifying his doctrine, by the practise of his life. I knowe that Cardinall *Alane*, Cardinall *Bellarmino*, *Fidelerus*, *Simancha*, and other vpholders of the Papall tyrannie, that *Stephanus Junius*, *Franciscus Hottomanus*, *Georgius Buchananus*, and other pillars of the Puritanie anarchie, doe answear, that the Church then, as it were swathed in the bonds of weake-nesse, had not strength sufficient to make powerfull resistance. But these *Fathers* that then lived, doe conuince them, and all other sectaries of falsehood, by making demonstrati-*on*, of the strength and potencie of the godly Christians, in case they would haue put their forces to the strōgest prooef. Seeing that all publike places, as Courts, Camps, Consisto-ries, Cities, and countrey villages, were stored and furnished with men of that profession and qualitie, as doth most euidently appeare by the words of *Tertullian*, in his Apogeti-*call* defence of the Christians: *Vna nox pauculis faculis, &c.* One night with a few firebrands, would yeeld vs sufficient reuenge, if it were lawfull for vs to requite euill for euill. But God forbid, that Christians should either reuenge the-selves, with humane fire, or be grieued to suffer that where-with they are tried. Were we disposed, not to practise se-*cret* reuenge, but to professe open hostilitie, should we want number of men, or force of armes? Are the Moores, or the Parthians, or any one nation whatsoeuer, more in number then we, that are spread ouer all the world? We are not of you, and yet we haue filled all the places and roomes which you haue: Yout Cities, Islands, Castles, townes, assemblies, your

## The dutie of Subjects.

7

your Tents, Tribes, and Wards ; yea, the Imperiall Pallace, Senate, and seats of iudgement. For what warre, were not we, able and readie, though we were fewer in number then you, that go to our Martyrdome so willingly? if it were not more lawfull in our religion to be slaine, then to slay? we could without armour, not by rebelling against you, but by departing from you, doe you displeasure enough, euen with our separation. For if so great a multitude, as we are, should breake out from you, in any other corner of the world, the losse of so many citizens would shame and punish you. You would feare, to see your selues left solitaire, euen amazed, as among the dead. You should then see, silence and desolation euerie where. You would haue many more enemies, then inhabitants. Whereas now, you haue fewer enemies, because of the multitude of your citizens, that are almost all Christians. *Hec Tertullianus.* We see by these three witnesses, that the Churche of God, in the first 300. yeares wanted, neither number of men, strength, nor courage to resist persecution, and to haue established the Christian faith, if that course had beene lawfull: but because their Lord had giuen them no sword to strike withall, they chose rather to be crowned *Martyrs*, for their religion, then to be punished as traytors for rebellion. What number of men, what strength of armes had the Churche (thinke you) the next 300. yeares after it had beene backed by Princes, defended by lawes, pronoked by honourable fauours, to professe Christianitie? Yet all that while, the seruants of God, neither did nor would resist Apostacie, Heresie, or Tyrannie: but yeelded their lives, with all submission, though they wanted neither meanes nor multitude, conuenient for any warres, as the next chapter by, pregnable

ble demonstration, shall shew:

## The third Chapter prooueith by the Fathers.

of the second 300. yeares, that the pleasure of Princes, must be  
endured with patience, when their decrees cannot  
be obeyed with a good Conscience.

The next 300. yeares, the Christians did as patiently endure Heresie, Apostasie, and Tyrannie, to the glorious triall of their faith, and the eternall reward of their patience. Whereof we haue a cloud of witnesses, namely, *Hostus, Liberius, Athanasius, Hilarius, Basilius Magnus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Lucifer Calaritanus, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Optatus Milevitanus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Leo the first, and Gregorie the great.*

*Hosius* was a famous confessor in the Church, before Constantine the great, a worthie Bishop during that Emperours raigne, and after his death greatly esteemed of all good men, yea euен of *Constantius* the Arrian Emperour him selfe, for his old age, great experience, excellent learning, and good conuersation. When this worthie Prelate, was comandemented by the Emperour, to subscribe to the condemnation of *Athanasiu*s, he returned to the Imperiall Maiestie, this stout, Constant, Christian, and dutifull answear; *Ego confessio nis munus implevi primum, cum persecutio nmoneretur, ab aro tuo Maximiniano*: I was then a confessor, when your grandfather *Maximinianu*s persecuted the Church. And if you doe now raise persecution, I am readie to endure any thing, rather then betray the truth and shed innocent blood. I do not like your manner of writing against *Athanasiu*s: Cease from it, be not of the Arrian opinion: Giue no eare to the Esterne

Obsequere  
& scribe  
contra Atha-  
nasium qui  
enim contra  
illum feribit  
ille plane  
nobiscum,  
&c.

## The dutie of Subiects.

9

stearne Bishops: beleue me rather, that for age might be your grandfather. Leau off I beseech you, and call to mind, that you are a mortall man. Feare that dreadfull day of iudgement. Enterpose not your selfe (O Emperour) into the ecclesiasticall service, neither command vs in this kind, to condemne the innocent: but learne rather of vs. God hath entrusted your Maiestie with the Empire, and committed vnto vs, the seruice of the Church: he that with an envious eie, maligneth your imperiall soueraigntie, contradiceth the ordinance of God. Take heede (O Prince) least drawing to your selfe the right of the Church, you become guiltie of grieuous transgression. It is written, Giue vnto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and to God the things that appertaine to God: it is therefore, neither lawfull for vs Priests, to vsurpe your kingdome: nor for you Princes, to meddle with the sacred seruice, and sacrifices of the Church. Thus farre *Hosius*. You see the grounds, that this good Bishop stood vpon: rather resolued to suffer any death or torture, then by his consent to betray the truth, or to condemne the guiltlesse. He admonisheth freely, and reprooueth sharply, he offreth his life to the Princes pleasure: It was farre from his meaning, to reuile the sacred maestie, or to stirre vp any rebellion, against this hereticall Emperour, which infringed the *Canons* of the Church, without all regard of truth or equitie, to serue the humors of the Arians, and to wreck his anger on them all, which yeelded not to that heresie.

*Hosius apud Athanasiā to  
litariam vī-  
tam agentes.*

*Liberius* a Bishop of Rome, did neither excommunicate nor depose this wicked Emperour *Constantius*, but appeared at his commaund, and endured his plea-

B i

sure,

sure, to the admiration of the Arrians, and the confirmation of the Christians, as we finde in *Athanasius, Trahitur Liberius ad imperatorem, &c.* Liberius was haled to the Emperour, when he came to his presence he spake freely, Cease (said he) O Emperour, to persecute the Christians, goe not about, by any meanes, to bring heretickall impietie into the Church of God. We are readie, rather to endure any torture, then to be called Arrians. Compell vs not to become enemies vnto Christ. Fight not against him (we beseech you) that hath bestowed the Empire vpon you. Render not impietie to him for his grace, persecute them not which beleue in him, least you heare, *it is hard for shee to kicke against the pricke.* Oh would to God you did so heare it that you might (as Paul did) beleue it. Loe we are at hand, and come to your presence, before our enemies the Arrians can inuent any thing to enforne against vs, we hastened to come at your commande, though we were assured of banishment: that we might abide our punishment, before any crime could be objected, much lesse prooued against vs. Whereby it may appeare, that all Christians are (as we now be) vndeservedly punished, and the crimes laid to their charge not true but fained by sycophancy or deceitfull subtilty. Thus spake Liberius, & every man admired his resolution: but the Emperour for answer commanded him to banishment. Thus farre he.

Pope Liberius had not learned the language of his successor *Pius Quintus*, when he bellowed against our late Queene, nor that principle of the Puritanes, that *the inferior officer may vse force of armes against the cheife*

Liberius quo  
supra apud  
Athan.

A.D. 9.5.

cheife Magistrate that shall become a tyrant: (whereof every sedition seclarie will be judge) and not onely defend himselfe, and his owne people, but also any other that shall flie vnto him. Which opinion *Lambertus Danicus* auoucheth, contrarie to the Law, the Gospel, and the generall consent of all orthodoxall Fathers.

*Politis Christiani. s. c. 3.*

*Hilarius*, a Bishop of France, wrote the same time to this same Emperour in most humble manner, *Bene-fica natura tua domine beatissime Auguste:* Your milde nature, most blessed Emperour, agreeing with your gracious disposition, and the mercie which floweth aboundingantly, from the fountaine of your fatherly godlinesse, doe assure vs, that we shall obtaine our desire. We beseech you, not onely with words, but also with teares, that the catholique Churches, be no longer oppressed with greeuous iniuries, and endure intollerable persecutions, and contumelies, and that (which is most shamefull) euен of our brethren. Let your Clemencie prouide, &c.

*Hilarius ad Imperatorem Constant.*

Surely, if it had then beene knowne, that the Pope, by his absolute power or indirect authoritie, could haue punished or deposed kings, which the Papists atouch, or for the Peeres or the people to haue done it, which the *Puritanes* affirme, some of these olde Bishops, would haue pressed that point against this hereticall Prince, which abused his sword, to the blaspheming of Christ, the murthering of the Sainis, the seducing of many thousand soules: by strengthening, maintaining, and establishing the Arrian error. But they tooke it to be no Christian mans part, to beare armour (no not defensiuē) against his Prince, though never so wicked,

cruell or vngodly. & on record had I alreayd shewed

Holy Athanasius confesseth the power of Kings to be of God, and their impietie not to be punished by man. *Sicut in toto mundo Deus rex est & imperator & potestatem exerceat in omnibus*: As God is King and Emperour ouer all the world, and exerciseth his power in all creatures: so the King and Prince is ouer all earthly men, and doth by his absolute power, what he will, euen as God himselfe. *hec ille.*

Ad Antioch.  
quest. 55.

Apolog. A-  
than. ad  
Constant.

Wher it was obiected against this reuerend father Athanasius, that he had incensed Constans the religious Emperour of the West, against Constantius, in the behalfe of the persecuted Christians: he cleared himselfe from that accusation, in an Apologie to the saide Emperour Constantius: The Lord (saith he) is my record, and his annoyned your brother, that I never made mention of your Maiestie for any euill, before your brother of blessed memorie, that religious Emperour Constans. I did never incite him against you, as these Arians doe flaunder me, but whensoeuer I had accessse vnto him, I recounted your gracious inclination. God knoweth, what mention I made of your godly disposition. Give me leaue and pardon (most courteous Emperour) to speake the truth. That seruant of God Constans, was not easily drawne to give eare to any man in this kind. I was never in such credit with him, that I durst speake of any such matter, or derogate from one brother before an other, or talke reprochfully of one Emperour, in the hearing of an other. I am not so madde, neither haue I forgotten the voice of God, which saith, Curse not the King in thine heart, and backbite not the mighty in the

secrets

secrets of thy chamber: for the birds of the ayre shall tell it, and the winged soule shall bewray thee. If then, the things that be spoken in secret against Princcs, can not be hid: is there any likelihood, that I in the Emperours presence, and before so many, as continually attended his person, would say any thing otherwise then well of your Maiestie? Thus farre *Athanas*. This is sounder and seemelier doctrine for subiects, then that which *Henrie Garnet*, and *Robert Tesmond*, taught some Romish catholike gentlemen of *England*, who employed *Thomas Winter* into *Spaine*, in the moneth of December, *Ann. Dom.* *x*

1601. to make request to the Spanish king, in the behalfe and names of the English Pope-catholikes, that he would send an armie hither into England, for the aduancement of their Catholique cause; and to promise, that the forces of the *Papists* here, should be readie to doe him seruice against the late *Queen*.

L. Cooke in  
his speach at  
Garnets ar-  
rangement.

The selfe same doctrine of sedition, was published in the yeare after, *viz. ann. Dom. 1602.* by *Gnielmus Bucanus*, a man of no meane esteeme among the *Puritans*, and that, at the earnest request of *Beza* and *Gonlartius*, the chiefeſt Ministers of the Churche of *Geneva*, (if the author himſelfe belie them not,) whose words are as followeth: *Subditis si sit publica & manifesta exercitia, licet fieri supplices, implorare auxilia ab alijs, & suscipere eorum defensionem alijs regibus licet*: Subiects, when they endure publique and manifest wrong, may lawfully become suppliants to foraigne ſtates, and craue their ayde againſt their Princes: and other Kings ought to take vpon them their defence and protection. So farre *Bucan*.

Subiects must ſquare their subiection, according to

the rule of Gods word, not after the affection and fancies  
 of men. <sup>a</sup> *Saul* commanded *Doeg* to murther 85. Priests,  
 to destroy their citie, men, women, and children with  
 the edge of the sword. Did *David*, for whome they were  
 flaine, when he had *Saul* in his power, take reuenge, or  
 suffer his seruants to doe it, when they were readie and  
 offered themselues to slay *Saul*? *David*<sup>b</sup> defiled *Vriias* his

<sup>b</sup> *1. Sam. 22. 18.* bed, and caused him to be killed: Did *Absalon* well, to  
 conspire against him, that was both a murtherer and an

<sup>c</sup> *1. Reg. 11. 8.* adulterer? *Salomon*<sup>c</sup> brought into the land many strange  
 wiues, and as many *different religions* into the Church:

<sup>d</sup> *1. Reg. 11. 8.* Did the high Priest, the Peeres, the Prophets, or the  
 people, offer to chastice or depose him? *Achab*<sup>d</sup> suffered  
*Iezabel* to put *Naboth* to death, and to kill the Lords Pro-  
 phets: Did *Elias* depose him, intice his subiects to rebell  
 against him, or implore foraigne aide to destroy him?

<sup>e</sup> *Mar. 6. 17.* *Herod*<sup>e</sup> beheaded *John Baptist*, killed *James*, imprisoned  
*Peter*, and would haue slaine him also, if he had not beene

<sup>f</sup> *Act. 12. 2.* deliuered by an Angel: Did *Peter* take vengeance on *He-  
 rod*, which he might haue done with a word, as well as

<sup>g</sup> *Act. 12. 23.* on <sup>f</sup> *Ananias*? No: he did leaue him to the Lord, whose  
 judgement insued in moste fearefull manner. In a word,  
 wicked Princes haue never beene lawfully punished by  
 Prelates, Potentates, or people of their kingdome, as the  
*Papists* and *Puritans* averre: but must be referred to the  
 judgement of God, as the *Protestants* affirme.

*Gregorie Nazianzen* in his oration at the funerall of *S. Basil*, reporteth, that the Emperours Deputie in *Pontus*, commanded *S. Basil* to put out a widow, that had taken  
 sanctuarie to sau her selfe from forced mariage. The Bi-  
 shop (not willing to violate the Ecclesiasticall laws gran-  
 ted  
<sup>Basilius mag-  
 nus.</sup>

ted by the Imperiall Maiestie) refused so to doe. The go-  
uernor called the Bishop before him, threatned to whip  
him, and to teare his flesh with iron hookes: the people  
hearing that indignitie offered to the Bishop, fell to an  
vprore, and would haue slaine the Lieutenant, *had not*  
*that innocent man of God, with much adoe, staid that furious*  
*tumult, and deliuered his persecutor from that perill, to whose*  
*pleasure he did afterward submit himselfe.*

Monodia  
Nazian.inter  
opuſcula Ba-  
ſiliſ. fol.95.

The same *Nazianzen*, for his admirable learning cal-  
led the *divine*, writeth of *Julian* the *Apostata-Emperours*  
death: *Julian* was punished by the mercie of God, tho-  
rough the teares of Christian men: which teares were  
many, and shed of many, for that they had no other re-  
medie, against that persecutor. Thus farre *Nazian*. This *Julian*,  
godly father liued vnder five Emperours, *Constantius*, *In-*  
*lianuſ*, *Valens*, *Valentinianuſ*, and *Theodosius*, in all which  
time, he could find no remedie against the tyrannie, he-  
refie, and apostacie, of Princes, beside prayers and teares:  
The deuill of hell had not as yet hatched the distinc-  
tions of *propriè* and *impropriè*, *directè* and *indirectè*, *sim-*  
*pliciter* and *secundum quid*, *absolue* & *in ordine ad spiritua-*  
*lia*, wherewith the *Iſuites* doe fill the schooles with cla-  
morous evasions, the Church with erroneous superstition,  
and many Christian states with tragicall sedition.

*Lucifer Calaritanuſ* in sundrie bookeſ against *Conſtan-*  
*tius*, vleth many immodest and diſloiall ſpeeches: but he  
peruadeth not the Pope to depoſe him, the ſtate to  
punifh him, the people to rebell againſt him, or for-  
raine aide to ſuppreſſe him, but threatned him with the  
dreadfull punishment of God. He that (in the feruency  
of zeale) durſt call ſo cruell an E'npereour, *Theſe*, *Church-*  
*robber*,

robber, Murtherer, Beast, Hangman, Heretique, Apostata, Idolator, the forerunner of Antichrist, and Antichrist himselfe, would surely haue encouraged the Pope, the Peeres or the people, to haue remoued that euill king, and placed a better in his stead: if there had beene any such opinion in those daies, as our moderne Jesuites and Puritanes beare now the world in hand. As this father, in his writings, kept not the modestie of the other fathers, which liued in that age vnder Constantius: so he did not continue in the vnitie of the catholique Church. Lucifer (saith Ambrose) denied himselfe from our communion, though he were banished with vs for our religion.

When Ambrose was commanded, to deliuer vp his Church in Myllaine to Maxentius an Arrian Bishop, he declared his resolution in a sermon to the people: which were verie sorie for his departure. *Quid turbamini? volens nunquam vos deseram:* Why are you troubed? I will neuer willingly depart from you. If I be compelled, I haue no waie to resist: I can sorrow, I can weepe, I can sigh, my teares are my weapons against Souldiours, Armour, Gothes: such is the munition of a preist: by any other meanes, then teares, I neither ought nor can resist: so farre Ambrose. Not disabilitie but dutie, not want of strength and martiall forces, but a reuerend regard of the Emperours Maiestie, commanded by the law of God, kept this blessed Ambrose from resisting. For he might easily haue wrought the churches liberty, his owne safte, and the Arrians calamitie by the ouerthrowe of the Emperour, through the force of the Garrison in that Citie, which refused, to attend the Prince to any other Church, then that wherein Ambrose was.

The

Oratio Am-  
brosij ad po-  
pulum inter  
epistol. 32. 33

The stout and peremptoriē answer of the Captaines and souldiers, is thus reported by Ambrose in an epistle to *Marcellina*, a religious woman. *Si prodire veller haberet copiam se presto futuras*: The Emperour may goe at his pleasure, they would be readie to attend him, if he would goe to the catholike assemblies: or otherwise, they would keepe on their way to that Congregation, wherein Ambrose was: *Thus farre the souldiers*. They refused (as you see) to obey, and preferred Gods true seruice, before the Emperours fauour: they reviled not his sacred person, they resifted not his soueraigne power, but yeelded themselues to his mercy and pleasure, to sauе their soules from Gods wrath and displeasure, as we find in the same epistle. *Vnum Ioh miraturus a cenderam*, I went to Church to extoll the patience of Iob, where I found euerie one of my hearers, a Iob, worthie to be extolled. In euerie one of you Iob is reviued, in each of you his patience, and vertue shined, what could be said better by Christian men, then that which the holy Ghost this day spake in you? We beseech (O Emperour,) we offer not to fight, we feare not to die, we entreat your clemencie. Oh it was seemely for Christian souldiers, to desire the tranquilitie of peace and faith, and to be constant in truth, euen vnto death: Thus farre Ambrose.

S. Augustine relateth the same of the Christian souldiers, vnder Julian the Apostata-Emperour: *Iulianus extitit imperator infidelis*, Julian was an vnbeleeuing Emperour, was he not an Apostata? an oppressor, and an Idolater? Christian souldiers serued that vnbeleeuing Emperour. When they came to the cause of Christ, they would acknowledge no Lord but him that was in heaven: when

C i                    they

they were commanded to adore Idoles, and to offer sacrifice, they preferred God before their Prince. But when he called vpon them to warre, & bad them inuade any nation, they presently obeyed. They did distinguish their eternall Lord, from the temporall king, yet they submitted themselves to their temporall Lord, for his sake that was their eternall king: So farre he.

Augustin.  
Vbal. 124.

De Iesu in  
Donatist. 1.3.

Com. in e-  
vang. Ioh. I.  
12. c. 36.

*Optatus Milevitanus*, is another pregnant witness: *Cum super Imperatorem nemo sit nisi solus Deus*. Seeing there is no man aboue the Emperour, beside God alone, which made the Emperour: *Donatus*, by advancing himself aboue the Emperour, doth exceede the bounds of humanitie, and maketh himselfe a God rather then man, in that he feareth and reuerenceth him not, whom all men should honour, next after God. So farre *Optat*.

Saint *Cyril* is of the same iudgement. *Cui legis pre-  
varicatores liberare licet nisi legis ipsius authoris?* Who can  
acquit them that breake the law, from transgression, be-  
side the law-giver? as we see by experience, in all hu-  
mane states, no man can without danger, breake the  
law, but kings themselves, in whom the crime of pre-  
varication hath no place. For it was wisely said of one,  
that it is a wicked presumption, to say to a king, *Thou  
doest amisse*. So farre he.

In 1. epist. ad  
Timoth. c. 2.  
v. 1.

And also Saint *Chrysostome*. What meaneth the Apo-  
stle (saith he) to require prayers and supplications, in-  
tercessions, and thanksgivings, to be made for all men?  
he requireth this, to be done in the daily service of the  
Church, and the perpetuall rite of diuine religion. For  
all the faithfull do knowe, in what manner prayers are  
powred out before the Lord morning and euening, for  
all

all the world: euen for kings, and euery man in auth-  
oritie. Some man will (peradventure) say, that for all, must  
be vnderstood of all the faithfull. Which cannot be the  
Apostles meaning, as may appeare by the words follow-  
ing, *viz. for Kings*: seeing that kings, neither did then,  
nor in many ages after, serue the living God: but continued  
obstinately in infidelitie, which by course of suc-  
cession they had receiued: Thus farre *Chrysost.* Our Mo-  
derne reformers teach vs that which *Paul* and *Chrysostome*  
neither knewe nor beleevued, that wicked Princes are  
not to be prayed for, but to be resisted, &c.

See the pre-  
face before  
Basilic. Dor.

When the faction of *Eutiches* had preuailed against  
the Catholikes, *Leo* the first, had no other remedie then  
prayers to God, sighes, teares, and petitions to the Em-  
perour: *Omnes partium nostrarum ecclesie, &c.* All the  
Churches of these parts, all we Priests, euen with sighs, <sup>Epistol. 34. ad</sup>  
<sup>Theodol.</sup> <sup>Imperat.</sup>  
and teares, beseech your Maiestie, to command a gene-  
rall Synode to be held in Italie, that all offences bee-  
ing remouued, there may remaine, neither error in faith,  
nor diuision in loue. Fauour the catholiques, grant liber-  
tie to protect the faith against heretiques, defend the  
state of the Church from ruine, that Christ his right-  
hand may support your Empire: Thus farre *Leo*.

When *Gregorie the great* was accused for the mur-  
ther of a Bishop in prison, he wrote to one *Sabaniamus*,  
to cleare him to the Emperour and Empresse. *Breniter*  
*suggeras serenissimis dominis meis*: You may briefly en-<sup>Epist. 1.7. c.</sup>  
forme my soueraigne Lord and Ladie, that if I their ser-<sup>Epist. 1.</sup>  
uant, would haue busied my selfe with the death of the  
*Lombards*, that nation would by this time haue had, nei-  
ther Kings, nor Dukes, nor Earles, & should haue bin in

great confusion and diuision; but becausse I stood in awe of God, I was euer afraid, to meddle with the shedding of any mans blood: so farre *Gregorie*. These *Lombards* were *Pagans*, invaders of the countrey, ransackers of the citie, persecutors of the *Saints*, robbers of the *Church*, oppressors of the poore: whom *Gregorie* the first, might, and would not destroy, *quia deum timuit*, because he feared *God*. It is verie like, that his successor *Gregorie* the seauenth, feared neither *God* nor *man*, when he erected the papall croisier against the regall scepter, and read the sentence of depriuation, against the *Emperour Henrie*: *Ego authoritate apostolica, &c.* I by my power apostolicall, doe bereaue *Henrie* of the Germaine kingdom, and do depryue him of all subiectiōn of Christian men, absoluing all men, from the allegiance, which they haue sworne vnto him. And that *Rodolph*, whom the *Peeres* of the *Empire* haue elected, may gourne the kingdome: I grant all men, that shall serue him against the *Emperor*, forgiuenesse of their sinnes, in this life and in the life to come. As I haue for his pride deiected *Henrie* from the royll dignitie, so I doe exalt *Rodolph* for his humilitie, to that place of authoritiie: Thus farre *Gregor. 7.*

Carol. Sigon.  
de Regno I-  
tal. lib. 9. in  
vita Hen. 3.

Benno Card.  
in vit. Greg. 7.

It is no wonder, that *Gregorie* his chaire claue a sunder, as some writers affirme, at the gining of this sentence: because the proud *Pope*, and his wicked sentence, were too heauie a burthen for *Peters* stoole of humilitie to beare.

*The*

The fourth Chapter prooveth the Immunitie of Kings by the Fathers of the third

300. yeares.

**A**fter the death of Gregorie the great, which was about the yeare of our Lord 604. Sabinianus did succeede him, who lived but one yeare, after whome came Boniface the 3. which obtained of Phocas to be called Universall Bishop; since that time, *pergit virtus Imperatorum & pietas Pontificum*, the Emperours waxed weake, and the Bishops wicked. What the iudgement of those Fathers then was, concerning subiection to wicked Kings, I will make evident by the testimonie of *Gregorius Turonensis, Isidorus, Damascenus, Beda, Fulgentius, Leo 4.* and the Fathers assembled in a Councell at Toledo in Spaine.

*Gregorie Turonensis* acknowledgeth such an absolute power in Chidericke, a most wicked king of France, as was free from all controll of man. *Si quis de nobis (Rex) iustitia limites transcendere voluerit, &c.* If any one of vs (O King) doe passe the bounds of justice, you haue power to correct him, but if you exceede your limit, who shall chastice you? We may speake vnto you; if you list not to harken, who can condemne you, but that Great God, who hath pronounced himselfe to be righteousnes? *habet enim illus*

*Isidorus* saith no lesse for the immunitie of the Kings of Spaine. Let all earthiy Princes know, that they shall giue account of the Church, which Christ hath committed to their protection. Yea, whether the peace and discipline Ecclesiasticall be aduanced, by faithfull Kings,

or dissolved by the vnsaithfull, he will require a reckoning at their hands, which hath left his Church in their power. So farre *Isidor.*

Parallel. lib.  
L.C.21.

*John Damascene* pleadeth not onely for the exemption of wicked kings themselves, but also of their Deputies. The gouernours (saith he) which Kings create, though they be wicked, though they be theeuers, though they be vniust, or otherwise tainted with any crime, must be regarded. We may not contemne them, for their impieties, but must reuerence them, because of their authoritie, by whome they were appointed our gouernours. So farre he.

Fulgentius ad  
Thrasim reg.

3.Pet.2.17.

*Fulgentius* saith, that no kinde of sedition can stand with religion. *Cum pro nostra fide libere respondemus, &c.* When we answer freely for our profession, we ought not to be taxed with the least suspition of disobedience or contumely, seeing we are not vnmindfull of the Regall dignitie, and doe know, that we must feare God, and honour the King, according to the doctrine of the Apostle, *Giue to each one his due, feare to whome feare, honour to whome honour appertaineth.* Of the which feare and honour, *S. Peter*, hath deliuered vnto vs the manifest knowledge, saying, *As the seruants of God, honour all men, loue brotherly fellowship, feare God, honour the King.* Thus farre *Fulgentius*.

lib.4.exposit.  
in Samuel.

1. Sam.24.6.

Our countre man *Beda*, for his great learning called *Venerable*, is of the same minde. *David*(saith he) for two causes spared *Saul*, who had persecuted him most malitiously. First, for that he was his Lord, annointed with holy oile. And secondly, to instruct vs by morall precepts, that we ought not to strike our gouernours, (though

(though they vniustly oppresse vs) with the sword of our lips: nor presume slanderously, to teare the hemme of their superfluous actions. So farre he.

*Leo* the fourth about the yeare 846. agnised all sub-  
iection to *Lotharius* the Emperour: I doe professe and  
promise (saith *Leo*) to obserue and keepe vnuiolably, as  
much as lieth in me, for the time present and to come,  
your imperiall ordinances and commandements: toge-  
ther with the decrees of your Bishops, my predecessors:  
If any man informe your Maestie otherwise, know cer-  
tainely, that he is a lier. So farrre *Leo*.

Cap. de capi-  
tulis, dist. 15.

The Bishops of Spaine assembled in a nationall  
councell at *Toledo*, made this decree against periurie  
and treason. *Quicunq; amodo ex nobis: Whosoeuer among*  
Concill. Tol.  
5. Canon. 2.  
circa annum  
Dom. 636.  
vs shall from this time forward, violate the oath which  
he hath taken for the safegard of this countrie, the state  
of the Gothish nation, & the preseruation of the Kings  
Maestie: whosoeuer shall attempt the Kings death, or  
deposition: whosoeuer shall by tyrannicall presumption  
aspire to the regall throne; let him be accursed before  
the holy spirit, before the blessed Saints, let him be cast  
out of the catholique Church, which he hath polluted  
by periurie, let him haue no communion with Christi-  
an men, nor portion with the iust, but let him be con-  
demned with the devill and his angels eternally, toge-  
ther with his complices, that they may be tied in the  
bond of damnation, which were ioyned in the socie-  
tie of sedition. Thus farre the fathers in that Synod.

I conclude therfore with these learned Fathers, that  
it is not for the people, otherwise then with humilitie  
and obedience, to controll the actions of their gover-  
nours:

nours : but their dutie is onely to call vpon the God of heauen, and so submitthemselves to his mercie , by whose ordinance the scepter is fallen into his hand and power, that enjoyeth the crowne, whether he be good or bad. A right of deposing, must be either in him that hath an higher power, which is onely God: or in him, that hath better right to the crowne : which the Pope cannot haue, because he is a straunger: nor the Peeres, or people, because they are subiects. Be the king for his religion impious, for his government vnjust , for his life licentious, the subiect must endure him, the Bishop must reprooue him, the counsellor must advise him , all must prae for him, and no mortall man hath authoritie to disturbe or displace him, as may euidently be seene by the chapter following.

*The fifth chapter confirmeth this  
Doctrine by the fathers of the fourth  
300 yeares.*

**I**N this age of the Church, the Popes exalted them-selves aboue all that is called god, & ypon priuate displeasures and quarrels, did curse and ban Princes , incensing their neighbour-nations , and perswading their owne subiects, to make warre against them, as if Christ had ordeyned his Sacraments, not to be seales of grace, and helpe of our faith, but hookes to catch kingdoms, and rods to scourge such Potentates as would not, or could not procure the Popes fauour. How farre these Popish practises, did displease the godly and learned, I will shew by *S. Bernard, Walbramus Bishop of Nanumberg, the epistle Apolegeticall of the Church of Leige* against

against *Paschal* the Pope, and the author of *Henrie* the fourth his life.

S. *Bernard*, in one of his sermons vpon the words of *Christ*, *I am the vine*, commendeth the answer of a certayne King, *Bene quidam rex, cum percussus humanus sagitta, &c.* It was well said of a King when he was shot into the bodie with an arrowe, and they that were about him, desired him to be bound vntill the arrowes head weare cut out, for that the least motion of his bodie would endanger his life: no (quoth he) it doth not beseeme a King to be bound, let the kings power be euer safe and at libertie. And the same farther in an epistle to *Ludovicus Crassus* the king of France teacheth subiects, how to rebell and fight against their Princes; *Quicquid vobis de regno vestro de anima & corona vestra facere placuerit: Whatsoever you please to doe with* Bern. epist. *your kingdome, your soule, or your crowne, we that are* <sup>221</sup> *the children of the Church cannot endure or dissemble the iniurie, contempt, and conculcation of our mother. Questionlesse we will stand and fight euen vnto death in our mothers behalfe, and vse such weapons, as we may lawfully, I mean not swards and speares, but praiers and teares to God.*

When *Gregorie* the 7. had deposid *Henrie* the 4. he gaue away the Empire to one *Rodolphus* duke of *Saxomie*, that was a sworne subiect to that distressed Emperour: which *Rodolph*, in a battaile against his soueraigne Lord, lost his right-hand, and gained a deadly wound. After his death, the Pope made one *Hermanus* king of *Germanie*, who enjoyed his kingdome but a little time, for he was slaine with a stone, which a woman threwe vpon him

from a turre, as he made an assault (in sport) against his owne castle, to trie the valour of his souldiers. Then did *Egberetus*, by the Popes encouragement ascend the Imperiall throne, wheron he sat but a while: for as he stepped aside from his armie into a mill, to rest himselfe in the heat of the day, he was discovered by the miller to the Emperours friends, and lost his life for his labour. During this hurly-burly in that state, *Walshramus* a godly Bishop, wrote to one *Ludovicus* an Earle of the Empire, diswading him from partaking with the seditious against that good Emperour, whom the Pope had deposed; *Walshram* by the grace of God, that he is, to *Lewes* the noble Prince, with instance of prayer, offreth himselfe in all things seruiceable. Concord is profitable to every realme, and justice much to be desired: these vertues are the mother of devotion, and the consecration of all honestie. But whosoever seeketh after civill dissencion, and incenseth other to the effusion of blood, he is a murtherer, & partaketh with him, who gaping for blood, goeth about seeking whō he may devoure: The worthie vessel of election, that was taken vp to the third heauen, protesteth, saying, Let euerie soule submit himselfe to the higher power, there is no power but from God. He that resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God. If that be true (which some men prate among women and the vulgar sorte) that we ought not to be subdued to the kingly power, Then it is false which the Apostle teacheth, that euery soule must submit himselfe vnder power and superioritie. Can the truthe lie? did not Christ the Lord speake by the Apostle: Why doe we prouoke the Lord? are we stronger then he? Doth not he thinke him selfe

Ex vita Hen.  
quarti qua-  
habetur in  
fasciculo re-  
rum sciendi-  
rum Colonia-  
& impresso.

Epistol. Wal.  
qua habetur  
in appendice  
Marian. Scot.

monit.

selfe stronger then the Lord, that resisteth the ordinance of God & seeing there is no power but of God: what saith the Prophet? Confounded be they that striue against the Lord, and they that resist him shall perish. *Rodolphus, Hermanus, Egbertus*, with many other Princes, resisted the ordinance of God, in *Henrie the Emperour*, but loe they are confounded, as though they had never beeene, for as their end was ill, their beginning could not be good, &c. *Heville*.

Pope *Paschalis* seeing the bad successe of those seditionis subjects, which his predecessors *Gregorie* and *Urbanus* had armed against *Henrie*, that worthie Emperour: did perswade the Emperours owne sonne, against all law of God, nature, and nations, to rebell against his Father. The Bishop of *Leige* tooke the Emperours part, against this young Prince, for the which he was excommunicate, his Church interdicted, and *Robers Earle of Flaunders* committid by the Pope, as he hoped to haue the forgiuenes of his sinnes and the fauour of the Church of Rome, to destroie that Bishop and his false preists.

The Churchmen of *Leige* terrified with the Popes excommunication, and fearing the Earles oppression, wrote an *apologie* for themselues about the yeare 1106. We are excommunicate (say they) because we obey our Bishop, who hath taken part with his Lord the Emperour. These are the beginnings of sorrowe: for Sathan beeing loosed, compasseth the earth, and hath made a diuision betweene the Prince and the Priest: Who can iustly blame the Bishop that taketh his Lords part, to whom he hath sworne allegiance? perfurie is a great

Epiſtol. Leo-  
dienſium x-  
pud Simo-  
nem Scard.

finne, whereof they cannot be ignorant, that by newe schisme and nouell tradition, doe promise to absolute subiects from the guilt of periurie, that forsware themselves to their Lord the King, &c.

In the progresse of their *apologie* they determine three great questions: first, whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings? Secondly, to whom it belongeth to inflict temporall punishment, when Church-men offend against faith, vnitie, or good manners? And thirdly, what remedie subiects haue against their kings, that are impious or tyrannous? *Si quis respectu sancti spiritus, &c.* If any man hauing respect to the spirit of God, shall turne ouer the old & new Testamēt, he shall plainly find that kings, ought not at all or very hardly be excommunicate, whether we consider the etimologie of their names, or the nature of their excommunicacion. Euen till this day hath this point been questioned, and never determined. Kings may be admonished and reprooued, by such as be discrete and sober men, for Christ the King of Kings in earth, who hath placed them in his owne stead, hath reserued them to his owne iudgement, &c.

Their answer to the second question, is grounded on the testimonie of S. *Augustine*, the practise of Princes, and the authoritie of Paul. Kings (say they) and Emperours by their publike lawes, haue forbidden heretiques, to enioye any worldly possession. Wherefore seeing we are no heretiques, and that it belongeth not to the Pope, but to kings and Emperours to punish heresies, why doth our Lord *Paschalis*, send Robert, his armourbearer, to destroie the possessions and to ouerthrow the villages of the Churches, which in case they

deserued

deserued destruction, ought to be destroyed by the edict of Kings and Emperours, which carie the sword not without good cause? &c.

For answer to the third question, they shew by sundrie places of Scripture, that there is no other helpe against euill Princes, then prayer and patience. *Nihil modo pro Imperatore nostro dicimus, &c.* We will for the present say nothing in defence of our Emperour, but this we say, though he were as bad as you report him to be, we would endure his gouernment, because our sinnes haue deserued such a gouernor. Be it: we must needs graunt against our will, that the Emperour is an Arch-heretike, an invader of the kingdome, a worshipper of the Simoniacall Idol, and accursed by the Apostles and Apostolike men, as you say of him: euen such a Prince ought not to be resisted by violence, but endured by patience and praier. *Moses* brought many plagues vpon *Pharaob*, whose heart God had hardened, but it was by praier and the lifting vp his hands to heauen. And *S. Paul* requireth praiers to be made for all men, for Kings and such as are in authoritie: which kings were neither Catholikes nor Christians. *Baruch* also from the mouth of the Prophet *Ieremie*, wrote vnto the Lewes, which were captiues vnto the king of Babylon, that they must pray for the life of *Nabuchodonosor* the king of Babylon, and *Balthazar* his sonne, that their daies in earth may be as the daies of heauen, &c. *S. Paul* teacheth why we ought to pray for euill kings, namely, that vnder them we may lead a quiet life, It would become an Apostolike man, to follow the Apostles doctrine: it were propheticall to follow the Prophet, &c. *Thus farre they in their Epistle Apologetically.*

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Vita Hen. 4.  
qao supra.

He that wrote the life of this Emperour *Henrie the fourth*, an auncient, a modest, and an impartiall relator of such occurrents as happened in his time, declareth his dislike of the Popes practises, and the *Germanus* tumults against their said soueraigne Lord. *Magnum mun- do documentum datum est*: A great instruction was given to the world that no man should rise against his master. For the hand of *Rodolph* beeing cut off, shewed a most iust punishment of periurie; he feared not to violate his fidelite sworne to the King, and his right hand was punished, as if other woundes had not beeene sufficient to bring him to his death, that by the plague of the rebellious, the fault of rebellion might be perceiued: thus farre he.

### The sixth Chapter prooveth the same by the testimonie of the writers from the 12. hundred yeares downward.

I Will for conclusion produce *Otho Frisingensis*, *Tho- mas Aquinas*, *Gratianus*, *Philip the faire king of France*, the Parliament of *England* in the time of *Edward the 1.* *Vincensius*, and *Aeneas Sylvius* that afterward was Pope, by the name of *Pius Secundus*.

*Otho Frisingensis* hath an excellent saying in his epistle dedicatore to *Frederick Barbarossa*, *Cum nulla persona mundanis inveniatur que mundi legibus non subiaceat, &c.* Although no earthly man can be found, that is not subiect to the lawes of the world, and in respect of subiection, liable to correction: Kings as it were placed ouer lawes, are not restrained by them, but referred to the ex-  
amina-

amination of God, according to the words of the King and Prophet, *Against thee only have I sinned.* It becommeth therefore a king, both in respect of the noble disposition of his minde, and the spirituall illumination of his soule, to haue God, the king of kings, and Lord of lords, euer in his minde, and by all meanes possible, to take heede, that he fall not into the hands of God, seeing it is (as the Apostle saith) a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the living God. It is more fearefull for kings, then for any other; because kings haue none but God himselfe aboue them, whome they haue to feare. It shall be so much more horrible for them, by how much they may offend more freely, then other men. *So farre Oth*ha*.*

*Thomas Aquinas*, (if the tractare de regimene principum be his) maketh three sorts of kings: Kings by *election*, Kings by *subordination*, and Kings by *succession*. For the first, he saith, that they which did establish, may abolish: for the second, we must haue our recourse to him that did surrogate the subordinate King: as the Iewes did to *Cesar* against *Herod*: for the last, his resolution is, *Recurrendum esse ad omnium regendum*, that we must flee to God, the King of all kings, in whose onely power it is, to mollifie the cruell heart of a tyrant. And that men, may obtaine this at the hands of God, they must cease from sinne; for wicked Princes, by diuine permission are exalted to punish the sinnes of the people, *rollenda est igitur culpa ut cesseat tyrannorum plaga*, we must therefore remoove our sinnes, that God may take away his punishment: *Thus farre Thomas.*

*Gratianus*, which compiled the decrees, is verie peremptorie, that the Bishop of *Rome*, ought not to meddle with

with the temporall fword, the state of common wealthes, or the change of Princes. He saith nothing indeede *de Regni ordinibus*, which in his time, and a 100. yeares after him, neuer dreamed of any such authoritie. *Cum Petrus qui primus apostolorum a domino fuerat electus, materialm gladium exerceret:* When Peter whom the Lord had first chosen of all the Apostles, drewe the materiall fword, to defend his Master from the iniurie of the Lewes, he was commanded to sheath his fword: *for all that take the fword, shall perish by the fword.* As if Christ should haue said, Hitherto it was lawfull for thee and thine auncestors to persecute Gods enemies with the temporall fword, hereafter thou must put vp that fword into his place, and drawe the fword of the spirit, which is the word of God, to slay the old man: who soever beside the Prince, and without his authoritie, that hath lawfull power, and as the Apostle teacheth, *beareth not the fword in vaine*, to whom euerie soule must be subiect, who soever (I say) without or beside the Princes authoritie, beareth the fword, shall perish by the fword: Thus farre *Grattan*.

*Cat. 23.*

*quest. 8. parag. 1.*

*Rom. 13. 4.*

About the yeaire a 1300. began a quarrell betweene Boniface 8. and Philippus Pulcher the French king, about the collation of benefices, prebends, and other ecclesiastical promotions. Whereupon the Pope wrote vnto the said king, as followeth: *Boniface Bishop, the seruant of Gods seruants, to his wel-beloued sonne Philip, by Gods grace king of France, Greeting and blessing Apostolical. Fear God and keepe his lawe: We giue thee to vnderstand that thou art subiect to vs both in spirituall things, and temporall, and that no gift of benefices or*

*pre-*

prebends belongeth to thee. If thou haue in thy hand any vacant, keepe the profits of them to the successors, and if thou hast bestowed any, we decree the collation voide, and recall it, how farre souer it hath proceeded. Whosoeuer beleueyth otherwise, we account him a foole: Dated at *Laseron* the fourth of the Caleidis of December, and in the 6. yeare of our Papacie. King *Phi- Philip Ful-  
lip* returned his haughtiness, a correspondent answear, *viz. Philip* by the grace of God, King of Fraunce, to *Boniface* bearing himselfe for Pope, *Salutem modicam sine nulli. Sciat tuis maxima fatus.* Little heath or none at all. *cher.*

Let thy great foolethip know, that in temporall things we are subiect to no man. And that the gifts of prebends and ecclesiasticall promotions, made and to be made by vs, were and shall be lawfull, both in time past and in time to come. For such collations belong to vs in the right of our crowne: wherefore, we will manfully defend the possessours of the said dignities, and doe iudge them that thinke otherwise fooles and madmen. Giuen at Paris the wednesday after *Candlemasse*, 1301. Questionlesse this King that did so scornefully reiect the Popes chalenge pretended from Christ, would little regard the claime of the Nobles, deriuied but from the people.

The same busie *Boniface*, of whom some write, that he came in like a foxe craftely, raigne like a *lion* cruelly, and died like a dogge miserably, would take vpon him the decision of a controversie between the Kings of *England & Scotland*, and commanded King *Edward* of *England* either to deafe his claime, or to send his procurators to the apostolike *See*, to shewe his right, and to receive such order from the Pope, as justice and equitie would require.

The Lords and commons then assembled in Parliament at *Lincolne* sent *Boniface* this answear in the kings behalfe. Whereas our most dread Lord *Edward* by the grace of God, the Noble King of *England*, caused your letters to be read openly before vs, touching certaine occurrents of state betweene him and the King of *Scotland*, we did not a little marvaile at the contents thereof, so strange and wonderfull, as the like hath never beene heard of. We knowe (most holy father) and it is well knowne in this realme, and also to other nations, that the King of *England* ought not to make answer for his right before any iudge ecclesiastical or secular: by reason of the free estate of his royll dignitie and custome, without breach at all times vnviolably obserued: Wherefore after treatie had and diligent deliberation, this was our resolutiōn, that our said king ought not to answer in iudgement, nor send procurators or messēgers to your court: seeing that tendeth manifestly to the disinheriting of the right of the crowne, the ouerthrowe of the state of the kingdome, and the breach of the liberties, customes, and lawes of our fathers, for the keeping whereof, we are bound by the dutie of an oath, and will (by Gods helpe) maintaine and defend with all our power and strength, &c. Dated at *Lincolne* Ann. Dom. 1301. & anno *Edwardi primi* 29. This was then the resolution of the state of this land: if our late sectaries *Popish* or *Puritan*, bring in any other doctrine, we may not leaue the cawsey of truth & obdience, whereon our forefathers walked to their commendation, to followe these newe guides, in their by-paths of pride, disobedience, and contempt of authoritie, to our destruction.

Parliament  
at Lincolne  
quoted by  
M. Beken-  
shaw.

*Vincenſius* in his *Speculo Historiali* hath a notable place to diſſuade from ſedition and periurie. *Vt pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hec ſola nonitas (ne dicam heretis) nee dum ē mundo emerſerat.* That I may ſpeak with the fauour of all good men, this meere noueltie (if not heretie) was not ſprung vp in the world, that preiſts ſhould teach ſubiects, that they owe no ſubiection to wicked kings, and albeit they haue giuen an oath of fidelitie vnto them, they are not bound to keepe it: Nay they that obey an euill Prince, are to be held as excommunicated, and all ſuch as reuell againſt him, are free from the guilt of the crime of periurie. So farre he.

I will end this chapter with *Genes Silvius*, who died in the yeare 1464. *Sic tandem finis litium.* Let there be an end of contention, and one principall head to determine all temporall matters; let the occaſion of perpetuall debate be taken away, let men acknowledge themſelues ſubiect to their Prince, & giue reverencie to him, whom God hath made his vicegerent on earth. As that which God commandeth muſt be obeyed without contradiction, ſo the temporall commandements of Cæſar, may not be refiſted. But let the Kings themſelues beware that they opprefſe no man vniuſtly, nor giue their people cauſe to cri to God againſt them, for the earth is the Lords and the fulneſſe thereof: he will not forget the cri of the poore: and for the ſinne of the Prince he tranſlateſt the gouernment from one nation to another. There is nothing more offenſive to the greatest God the king and creator of heauen and earth, then the neglect of iuſtice, and the opprefſion of the poore: as the Psalmt faith, *The poore ſhall not alway be forgotten,*

*Pius 2. de or-  
tu & author.  
imperiij cap.  
23.*

and the patient abiding of his needie shall not perish for ever. So farre *Silvius* has nobled moile shaw lib. 10. cap. 10. (luted with an a) in his 10. and 11. chapters.

**The seaventh Chapter Sheweth the concord of Papist and Puritan for the deposition of Kings, and their discord about the meanes and persons to be employed in the execution of their designements.**

**C**hilderick was deposēd, and *Pipine* crowned King of France about the yeare 750. The truth of which historie is this, *Childericke* voide of all princely grauitie, gaue himselfe over to pleasure and wantonnesse, leauing the bērthen of the state to *Pipinus*, that was his Lord *Marshall*. Who conspired with the Nobles, to aduance himselfe, by the deposition of the king his master. To set a better colour on the matter, *Pipine* sent his Chaplaine to *Pope Zabarie*, to haue his answer to this Question: whether shoulde be King, he that bare the name and did nothing, or he that gouerned the kingdome? The Pope gaue sentence with the Marshall against the King, whereupon, *Childerick* was made a shorne Monke, and *Pipine* a crowned king.

It is a wonder to see how these opposite sectaries, do insist upon this fact of the Frenchmen, to iustifie their dangerous doctrine, and seditious conspiracies against Princes. As Card. *Bellarmino de pontif.* lib. 21. cap. 17. *Thomas Harding* against the *Apologie of the Church of England* fol. 181. Franc. *Feuardentius* in his commentaries on *Hester* pag. 85. *Boucher alias Raynolds de iusta abdicatione Henrici* 3. lib. 3. cap. 14. *Ficklerus de iure ma-*

ejstratum fol. 32. *Alexander Careri* in *parvinius de potestate*  
pape lib. 2. cap. 3. *D. Marta de temporali & spirituali ponti-*  
*ficii potestate* lib. 1. cap. 33; and *Dolens an in his conference touch-*  
*ing succession parte.* 1. cap. 3. pag. 48. And also these Pur-

lib. de vnit.  
Eccl. apud  
Scard. pag. 5.

*ritans, Christopher Goodman* in *his treatise of obedience* pag.  
53. *George Buchanan de iure Regni apud Scotos* p. 47. *Danatus*  
*de politia Christiana* lib. 3. cap. 6. pag. 221. *Brutus Celta de in-*  
*re magistratum* pag. 286. *Phyladelphus dialogo 2.* pag. 65.  
*Frane. Hotomanus* in *his Francogallia* cap. 12. and *Speculum*  
*tyrannidis Philipi Regis* pag. 27. The Papists which ascribe  
this deposing power to the pope, endeavour by tooth  
and naile, to disprove that interest which the Puritans  
grant the peers or the people. First, this example serueth  
*Gregorie 7.* to excuse his presumptuous practices against  
*Henric the fourth.* *Quidam Ramanus pontifex.* A certaine  
Bishop of Rome deposed a king of France, not so much  
for his ill life, as for that he was not fit for gouernment,  
and placed *Pipine*, which was father to *Charles the great*,  
in his place: absoluing all the Frenchmen from the oath  
of allegiance, which they had sworne to their king.  
Thus farre *Gregorie* in an epistle to one *Herimanus*, that  
was Bishop of Metz in France.

*Thomas Harding* concludeth from this fact, a diuine  
power in the pope. Can you not see (saith *Harding*) what  
strength and power is in the pope, which is able with  
a word, to place and displace the mightiest King in Eu-  
rope? with a word, I say, for I am sure you can shew us  
of no armie, that he sent to execute his will. He had the  
power of a man (think you) to appoint kingdomes? can  
the Deuill himselfe, at his pleasure set vp and depose  
Kings? no surely. Much lesse can any member of his do-

Confut. of  
the Apolog.  
fol. 181.

the same. Remember you what Christ said, when the Jewes obiected, that he did cast out devils in the name of the prince of devils? beware you sinne not against the holy Ghost, who confesse that the Pope hath pulled downe and set vp Kings. Which thing vndoubtedly he could neuer do profitably and peaceably, but by the great power of God, &c. So farre *Harding*.

*De Pontif.  
lib.2.cap.17.*

Cardinall *Bellarmino* the grand-master of Controversies, cannot indure to heare that this deposition was done by any other then the papall authoritie. The Pope (saith he) *Indicauit licere Frauncis, regnum Childeris in Pipinum transferre*. The Pope gaue iudgement that the Frenchmen might lawfully transfer *Childericks* kingdome to *Pipin*: and did absolute them from the oath which they had sworne vnto him. No man that hath his right wit can denie this to be lawfull. For the very euent hath prooued, that change to be most fortunate: seeing the kingdome of Fraunce, was neuer more potent, nor religion more flourishing, then vnder *Pipin* and *Charles* his sonne. Thus farre *Bellarmino*.

This Cardinals reason from the successe to the approbation of the fact, will conclude well for the Turke, who hath longer continued, more flourished and inlarged his state, then the house of *Pipin*. Heare in a word the true success of *Pipins* posteritie out of *Benuentus Imolensis* and *Paulus Emilius*. The first of that line was *Charles* the great, in whose time the Empire was diuided. The second was *Ludovicus Pius*, against whome *Lotharius*, an vnnaturall sonne, did conspire: who thrust his father to a cloister, and placed himselfe in the throne, where he sat like a tyrant, till he was also deposed. The fourth

*Benuentus  
Imolensis.*

fourth was *Ludovicus 2.* a man vnfortunate in all his doings. The fifth was *Ludovicus 3.* whome they call *Ludovicus nihil*, or *Lewes* no-bodie. The 6. was *Charles* Paulus Aemilius. the bald, a very coward. The 7. was *Charolus Crassus*, as very a-foole. *Arnulphus* the eight of that progenie, was eaten with lice. The 9. was *Ludovicus 4.* in whome that race ended.

*Alexander Carerius* inferreth the absolute soueraigntie of the Pope ouer all Kings, euen to depose them, and to transpose the Realmes, from the insufficiencie of the Nobles and people. *Esto quod verum sit Papam, non depo-* de potestate Pontif. 1.2. cap.3. num. 6.  
*suisse regem Francie:* Be it true that the Pope did not depose the king of France, but gaue consent to the Peeres and people to depose him, this is a most manifest prooef of our intent: that kings haue one, if not many superiours, *viz.* the Barons and people of their kingdome: and ouerthroweth their position and conclusion, *That Kings haue in temporall things no superiour, no, not the Bishop of Rome.* But seeing the Barons & people, could neither iudge nor deprive him, because they wanted coactiue power, which Vassalls or subiects haue not ouer their soueraigne, it followeth necessarily, that the Pope by his princely power, as superior to the King in temporalties, might lawfully depose him. Thus farre *Carerius*.

*D. Marta*, is as peremptorie for the Pope, against the pretended claime of the Peeres or the people. *Childericus priuatus est regno Francie ob stupiditatem & ineptitudinem in administrando:* Childerick was deprived of the kingdome of France, for his stupiditie and vnsuitesse to gouerne. They that say he was not deprived by the Pope alone, but by them that desired another king, doe not

not aufer the reasons alledged for the Popes souaigne power in temporalties: nay they confirme the Popes power. *Baldus* asketh this question, when the Emperour is vnprofitable, or madde, or a drunkard, may the people depose him, or assigne him a coaditor? *No*, saith he, the Pope must doe it, for the Pope is the crowne and braine of the people. And we haue prooued before, that God did giue no iurisdiction to the people, but to *Moses* and his successors. Wherefore the vassal or Peeres which represent the people, haue no power common with the Pope, in the deposing of Princes. And it that they say, that the Frenchmen desired another King, it is a great confirmation, that the Pope hath right to dispose of kingdomes. Heyleth to desire, who hath not of his owne: or cannot of himselfe effect that, which he would have done: Thus farre *Marta*.

They that plead for the state of the *Laicie*, are as confident against the Pope and clergie. *Et pruic dicam* (faith *Innus*) *hoc fecit Zacharias ut dominus aut ut mandatarius*, authoritate instructus a domino, that I may vse fewe words, the Pope deposed *Childericke* either as his Lord, or as a mandatarie hauing authoritie from the Lord; but he did it neither way. Not as Lord, how could he be Lord in France, that in those dayes had no Lordship in Rome? he did it not as mandatarie, for then he ought to haue shewed his authoritie, which he neither did, nor could shewe. Christ would not diuide a priuate inheritance, shall *Zacharie* then presume to depose kings or transpose kingdomes? Thus farre *Innus* *et ceterum quod monachus iste* (faith *Lambertus Dancus*) whereas this monke *Bellarmino* contendeth, that *Childericke*

de temp. &  
spir. Pontif.  
potest. part.  
1. cap. 23. nu.  
15, 16, 17.

## The sedition of Sectaries.

41

derick was lawfully deposed by Pope *Zacharias*, a stranger, a Priest, no Magistrate, but (in this respect) a private person, though he were Bishop of Rome. Will he euer be able to prooue or defend his assertion? Can *Zacharie* haue authorie in *France*, being a stranger? can he depose the publike Magistrate, beeing but a private person? or transerre that principality to *Pipin* that he hath no right vnto? and commit so many sacrileges and impieties, stealing from *Childerick*, and giuing to *Pipin* another mans right? authorising subiects to violate their oaths, which they had sworne to their king? transposing kingdomes from one man to another, whereas it doth onely belong to God to depose kings, and dispose of kingdomes? thou maist see (*Bellarmino*) how many outrages this thy *Zacharie* hath committed, beside that he did thrust his sickle into an other mans haruest, and medled with the cobler beyond his last, in that, beeing but a Priest he tooke vpon him the decision of the right of kingdomes. Thus farre *Daneus*, who is not so violent against the Pope, as he is virulent for the deposing power of Peeres, or states of the kingdome. The kings (saith he) of *Lacedemonia* had the *Ephori* to controll them.

Resp. *Danei*  
ad *Bellar.* l. 2.  
c. 17. p. 116.

The states-men of the Romane common-wealth, deposed the Emperours, which were tyrants, and abused their authoritic. The French-state hath often dethroned their kings: The Nobles of Spaine may doe it by their law: And the historie of the Scottish affaires (excellently well written by \* *Buchanan*) doth report that the states-men of that countrie, haue many times deprived the kings of Scotland. Finally, naturall reason, and the practise of all nations doth confirme, that the states-men in every

*Daneus pol.*  
*Christian.* l. 2.  
c. 3. pag. 414.

\* *minus mu-*  
*lum scabie.*

F i

king.

cap. 13.

kingdome, may depose kings, that are peccant. So farre he. *Hottoman* in his *Franco Gallia*, hath a long chapter to prooue that this might be done lawfully, by the Peeres, or the people, but in no case by the Pope or the clergie.

Men cannot saie (as it is in the proverbe) *nimum alterando veritas amittitur*, seeing that in this opposition, the truth is not lost, but diuided among them. For their premisses, brought together, wil vnauoidably conclude, that this depositing power, is neither in the Pope, the Peeres, nor the people. Though it were, the reason of the seditious *Papists* and *Puritans*, à *facto adiun*, is sophistical in the schooles, where nothing can be concluded *ex meris particularibus*, of meere particular instances. Absurd in law, *quia legibus non exemplis vivitur*, for men must doe as the law requireth, not as other men practise. Erroneous in diuinitie, *non ideo quia factum credimus, faciendum credamus, ne violemus praeceptum dum sedamur exemplum*: We may not doe that, which hath beeene done by other men, least we breake the law of God, in following the example of man. And dangerous in policie, as my *Lord of Northampton*, the ornament of learning, obserueth. The flic (saith that noble Earle) sitting on the cart wheele, might as well wonder at the dust raised in the way, as *Gregorie* or *Zacharie*, draw counsell to power, and make that fact their owne, which was hammered in the forge of ambition, countenanced with the colour of necessitie, and executed by *Pipin*, a minister, that beeing wearie of subordination, resolued by this tricke, when the meanes were fittid and prepared to the plot, to make himselfe absolute. The case of Kings were pitifull, if *ex factis singularibus*,

August. ad  
Concen. de  
mendacio  
cap. 9.

gularibus, it were lawfull to drawe leaden rules in their disgrace. Thus farre the Earle.

*The eight Chapter sheweth the danger  
of this Doctrine, and the originall of the Puritan posi-  
tion, concerning the power of statesmen  
to punish and depose Princes  
in Monarchies.*

**T**hese desperate attempts, suggested by the Deuill, executed by the people, encouraged by the state, & approoued by the Pope, must serue as admonitions to Princes, to humble themselues before God: *Qui non dabit sanctos suos in captionem demibus eorum, who will not giue his Saints for a pray to their teeth.* For it is not heard (as our great King remembreth) *That any Prince forgeth himselfe in his dutie to God, or in his vocation?* But God with the greatnessse of the plague reuengeth the greatnessse of his ingratitude.

Law of Mo-  
narch. p. 60.

These practises therefore must be no president for Peeres, or people to follow, because God hath forbiddn Christian subiects to resist, though kings raigne as Tyrants; & commanded them to endure with patience, though they suffer as Innocents. And also, because that in stead of releueing the Common-wealth out of distresse, which is euer the pretence of seditious practitioners, they shall heape mischeefe on it, and desolation on themselues: as (*Aquinas*) if he be the author of the booke *de regim. principum*, sheweth manifestly. *Effet multitudini periculosem & eius rectoribus:* It were dangerous to subiects and gouernours, that any should at-

tempt  
de regim.  
princ. l. i. c. 6.

tempt to take away the life of princes, though they were tyrants: for commonly, not the well disposed, but the ill affected men, doe thrust themselues into that danger. And the government of good Kings, is as odious to bad men, as the rule of tyrants to good people. Wherefore the kingdome, by this presumption would be rather in daunger to forgoe a good prince, then a wicked tyrant. So farre *Thomas.*

They that are the authors or abettors of sedition, can neither avoide shame in earth, nor escape eternall damnation. Though God the great Judge do sometime permit rebels, in his Justice to preuaile against Kings, for their contempt of the lawe of the highest, and the neglect of their owne dutie. The reward of rebellion shall be no better then the recompence of Sathan, who is the instrument of the Lords wrath for the punishment of all disobedience. It is most true that as sicke men, neere their death, haue many idle fancies, so the world before the ende thereof shall be troubled with many errorts. In these declining dayes of the world, many countreys, Cities, and Cantons, renounced their old government, and submitted themselues to such a newe regiment as they best liked: for confirmation of which practises, there wanted not politike Diuines, (what wine is so soure that some hedge grapes will not yeeld) to inuest the people and Nobles with the power ouer Kings, to dispose of their kingdomes. The heathen *Politicians* from whome this politike Diuinitie is deriuied, knowing not the true God, and having no rule to direct them, but naturall reason, thought him no murtherer, but a *defender of his countrey that killed tyrants.* But this pagan principie, beeing a plant,

Chrysostom.

plant, that Christ hath not planted, must be plucked vp by the rootes. I can finde no ground of this leuid learning, beyond 220. yeares in the Christian world: the first authors of it beeing *Johannes de Parisis, Iacobus Almain, and Marsilius Patarinus: Vbi peccat rex in temporalibus, saith Johannes de parisis, papa non habet ipsum corrige-*re: when the king offendeth in the temporall gouernement, the Pope hath no authoritie to correct him, but the Barons or Peeres of the Realme, and if they either cannot, or dare not meddle with him, they may crawe the the Churches aide to supprese him: so farre *John of Paris.*

*Ioh. de Paris.  
de potest. re-  
gia & papali  
cap. 14.*

*Tota communitas (saith Iacob Almain) potestatem habet principem deponere.* All the communalty, hath power to depose their Prince, which power the communalty of France vsed, when they depriued their king, not so much for his impietie, as for his disabilitie to manage so great a charge: so farre *Almain. Regis depositio & alterius institutio* (saith *Marsilius Patarinus*) the deposition of a king, and the institution of another in his place, belongeth not to the Bishop of Rome, to any priest, or to the college of priests, but to the vniuersall multitude of the subiects. So farre he.

*Iacob Al-  
main de po-  
test. eccl. cap. 1.*

*Marsilius Pata-  
rinus de trans-  
lat. imperij  
cap. 6.*

From these, the Puritans haue learned their error, of the power of States-men ouer Kings, then which, no opinion can be more daungerous: where the Nobilitie are as readie to practise, as the Puritan preachers are to prescribe. What presumption is it in men, to passe the bounds which God hath set them, to controll the wisdome of the Lord, and his unspeakable goodnes, when he maketh triall of the patience of his Saints, by the outrage and tyrannie of cruell kings, that they which are

found patient in trouble, constant in truth, and loyall in subiection, may be crowned with glorie. Were we perswaded, that the *hearts of Kings are in Gods hand*, that the haires of our head are numbred, and that no affliction can befall vs, which God doth not dispose to the exercise of our faith, the triall of our constancie, or the punishment of our sinne, we would as well admire the iustice of God, in permitting tyrants, that our sinnes may be iudged, and punished in this world, as praise his mercie and fauour, in giuing rest to his seruants, vnder the protection of godly and gracious princes.

*The ninth Chapter sheweth the general consent of the Moderne Puritans touching the coercion, deposition, and killing of Kings whome they call tyrants.*

**T**He Citizens of Geneva, changed the gouernment from a *Monarchie* to a *Democratice* in the yeare of Christ, 1536. In the which yeare, *John Calvin* came into that Citie, to visit his freind *Farellus*; And was chosen the publike reader of diuinitie. At his first comming thither, he published his *Theologicall institutions*. Wherin he doth verie learnedly, and Christianly intreat of the authoritie of princes, and the dutie of subiects. One onely place is harshe, and dangerous: deliuering in obscure, and doubtfull tearmes, to excuse (as I conceiue) the outrage of the Citizens, against their prince, whom they had not many weekes before expelled: not to authorise other men to attempt the like against their soueraigne Magistrates. His words are these, *Si qui sunt popu-*

## Puritan-Jesuitisme.

47

populares Magistratus, ad moderandam regnum libidinem  
constituti. If there be any popular Magistrates, to restraine  
the licentiousnesse of Kings, of which kinde were the  
Ephori opposed against the Lacedemonian Kings, the  
Tribunes of the people, which curbed the Romane  
Consuls, and the Demarchie which brideled the Senate  
of Athens; And such peraduenture as things now stand  
are the three states in every kingdome, assembled in  
Parliament. I doe not denie, but these in regard of their  
dutie, stand bound to reppresse the vnrulinessse of  
licentious kings: Nay, I affirme, that if they doe but  
winke at those kings, which peeuiishly make hauock of  
their people, and insult against their communaltie, that  
they want not the guilt of hainous treacherie, because  
they betray the libertie of the people, whose guardians  
they know themselves to be appointed. Thusfarre Cal-  
vin. Since which time all Puritans haue turned his  
coniunction conditionall, into an *illative*, his aduerb of *doubting*  
to an *affirmative*, and his *permissive*, *non veto*, into a  
verb of the *imparative mood*, in their books of regment  
secular, and discipline Ecclesiasticall.

Christopher Goodman, published a treatise of obedience at Geneva, not without the verie good liking and approbation of the best learned in that citie, 1557. wherein he affirmeth, That if Magistrates transgresse Gods lawe themselues, and command others to doe the like, they loose that honour, and obedience which otherwise is due vnto them: and ought no more to be taken for Magistrates: but to be examined and punished as priuate transgressors: so farre Goodman. pag. 172.

Much about the same time was *Knox* his appellation  
prin-

Genevs,  
fol. 56.

printed in the same place, wherein he feareth not to affirme, That it had beeene the dutie of the Nobilitie, Iudges, Rulers, and people of England not onely to haue resisted *Marie*, that *Iezabel* whom they call their *Queen*, but also to haue punished her to the death, with all such as should haue assisted her, what time that she openly began to supprese Christs Gospel, to shed the blood of the Saints, and to erect that most devillish Idolatrie, the papisticall abhominations, and his vsurped tyrannie. Thus farre *Knox*.

pag. 216.

*Ann. 1560. Theodore Beza* printed his *Confessions*, wherein he auoucheth, That there are vices inherent in the persons of Princes, though they be lawfully established, by succession, or election, *viz.* Vngodlinesse, covetousnesse, ambition, crueltie, luxurie, lecherie, and such like sinnes which tyrants delight in. What shall be done in this case to these Princes? *Answer* (saith he) that it belongeth to the superiour powers, such as are the 7. electors in the Empire, and the statesmen of the king. dome almost in euerie Monarchie, to restraine the fury of tyrants, which if they doe not, they are traytors to their countryes, and shall before the Lord giue an account of their treacherie. Thus farre *Beza*.

Rerum Scot.  
1.17. p. 550.

1561. The verie yeare after there was a contention betweene the Nobilitie and Clergie of Scotland about this matter, (as *Buchanan* reporteth:) let him tel his owne tale. *Calendis Novembribus regina ad Missam*: The *Queen* vpon the feast of All-Saints, added to her priuate Masse all the solemnities and superstitious ceremonies of the Papists; The Ministers of the Gospel tooke it verie ill, complained thereof to the people, in their

their publike congregations, and admonished the nobilitie of their dutie in that behalfe: whereupon rose a controversie in a house of private meeting, between the Nobles and Preachers, whether the Nobles may restraine Idolatrie, that is like to breake out to a generall destruction: and by rigor of law, compell the cheefe Magistrate to his dutie, when he exceedeth his bounds? The Ministers of the Church stood stedfast in opinion, as they had formerly done, that the cheefe Magistrate may be compelled euен by forcible meanes to live according to law: but the Noble men because of the *Queenes* fauour, hope of honour, or loue of lucre, did a litle wauer, and thought otherwise then the Ministers: and so in the end iudgement passed with the Nobles, because they were more in number and of better esteeme and reputation. Thus farre *Buchanan*.

Note how  
basely the  
Puritans e-  
steeme the  
Nobilicie  
when they  
dwart them.

1568. The outlandish Churches in London concluded this Canon in a classicall Synode, *Si quisquam repugnantibus legibus patriæ: If any man usurpe Lordship, or Magistracie, against the lawes and priuiledges of the countrie, or if he that is a lawfull Magistrate, doe vniustly bereauue his subiects of the priuiledges, and liberties which he hath sworne to performe vnto them, or oppresse them by manifest tyrannie, the inferiour officers must oppose themselves against him, for they are in dutie bound before God, to defend their people, as well from a domesticall, as a forraigne tyrant.* Thus farre they.

*Beza epist.  
24.*

1574. We had swarmes of caterpillers: namely, *Disciplina Ecclesiastica* from Rochel, to teach vs, that the senate Ecclesiasticall hath the cheefe moderation of the

*fol. 145.*

Christian societie, and ought to prouide that no Magistrate be defectiue in his charge, and by common care, counsell, and authoritie to ouersee, that euerie goernour carry himselfe faithfully in his Magistracie. Thus farre that author.

pag. 43.

*Franco-Gallia* from *Colen*, wherein we finde that the people hath power to dethrone their Princes.

pag. 306.

*Junius de iure Magistratum* (as some thinke from *Geneva*,) wherein it is said, that the people haue the same right to depose kings that are tyrants, which a generall counsell hath to displace a Pope that is an heretique.

dialogo. 2.  
pag. 37.

*Enseebius Phyladelphus* from *Edenbruge*, wherein we read, that it was as lawfull for his brethren of France, to defend themselues against the tyrannie of *Charles the ninth*, King of that name in France, as for wayfaring men to resist and repell theeues, cutthroats, and wolues: nay further, I am (faith he) of opinion with the old people of Rome, that of all good actions the murther of a tyrant is most commendable. Thus farre he.

pag. 206.

1577. came forth the *Vindicia contra Tyrannos*, with this resolution, That Princes are chosen by God, established by the people: every priuate man is subiect to the Prince: the Multitude and the officers of state which represent the Multitude, are superiours to the Prince: yea they may iudge his actions, and if he make resistance, punish him by forcible meanes. So farre he.

lib. 3. c. 6.

1584. *Danues* finished his booke of Christian policie, wherein among many other he propoundeth, and answereth a *Noble question*, as he termeth it. *Nobilis quæsio sequitur*. A noble question followeth, whether it be lawfull for subiects to change and alter their gonernment?

Yea.

Yea whether it may be done by godly men with a good conscience? his answer is. The cheefe Magistrate, that notoriously and willfully violateth the fundamental lawes of the kingdome, may be displaced by godly subiects, with a good conscience. And this is his reason, *Reges summiq; Magistratus*, Kings and cheefe Magistrates are the vassalls of the kingdome, and of the Commonwealth where they rule: Wherefore, they may be dispossessed & deieected when they shall obstinately attempr any thing, against the feudall lawes of the kingdome where they gouerne, as Kings and cheefe Magistrates. And it is truly said, that as a generall councell, is aboue the Pope, so the kingdome or the Peeres of the Land, are aboue the King. Thus farre *Daneus*.

1585. *George Buchanan* proclaimed rewards aswell <sup>de iure Reg.</sup> <sub>pag. 31.</sub> for murthering kings as killing tygres. If I (faith he) had power to make a law, I would command tyrants to be transported from the societie of men into some solitarie place, or els to be drowned in the bottome of the sea, that the euill saiuour of dead tyrants should not annoy liuing men. Furthermore I would award recompence to be giuen for the slaughter of tyrants, not onely of all in generall, but of every one in particular, as men vse to reward them for their paines which kill wolues or beares, and destroy their young ones. *hac ille*.

The same yeare *Thomas Cartwright* commended *Dndley Fenners* his *Sacra Theologia* (as they call his booke) to the world, wherein men are warranted by sundry texts of Scripture, most miserably abused, to destroy tyrants. Therein he (following the common opinion of the *Puritans*) maketh two sorts of tyrants, *Tyramus sine titulo*, <sup>lib. 5. cap. 13.</sup> <sub>pag. 185.</sub>

and *Tyrannus exercitio*. For the tyrant without title: He is confident, that any man may cut his throat. *Hunc quisque priuatus resistet, etiam si potest e medio tollat*, let euerie private man resist him, and if he can, take away his life. For the Tyrant exercent: hauing described him to be a Prince, that doth wilfully dissolute all, or the chiefeſt compacts of the commonwealthe, he concludeth againſt him, *Hunc tollant, vel Pacifice vel cum Bello, qui ea potestate donati sunt, ut regni Ephori vel omnium ordinum conventus publicus*: The Peeres of the kingdome or the publique assembly of ſtates, ought to deſtroy him, either by peaceable practiſes, or open warre. *hac ille.*

anno 1588. *Hermanus Renekerus* published obſerua-  
tions vpon the firſt *Psalme*, wherein he investeth the  
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notation: God (ſaith he) hath ordained the Civill Ma-  
gistrate for the good of the ecclesiasticall order, there-  
fore the ecclesiasticall ſtate is the highest thronē of Gods  
earthly kingdome, the ſupreame ſeate of all excellencie,  
and the chiefeſt court wherin God himſelfe is president,  
to diſtribute eternall giſts to his ſervants. Whereas the  
politicall Empire is but as it were an inferiour bench,  
wherin iuſtice is admiſtred according to the preſcrip-  
tion of the ecclesiasticall ſoueraigntie: Thus ſaith *Ren-  
ekerus*.

*Robert Rollocke*, a man otherwiſe verie learned, is caried  
with the current of this error, and borrowed his affir-  
mation of *M. Fenner*, whose words he expoundeth by way  
of paraphrasis, in his commentaries on *Daniel* printed at  
*Edinburgre*, 1591. Though the chieft lawfull Magistrate  
(faith

(faith *M. Rolloke*) dole many things unlawfully and tyrannously, he may not rashly be violated, by them especially which haue not authoritie: but the Nobles or the publike assemblie of states, must reduce him to his dutie, by reproofe and all other lawfull measures, 1. Sam. 14. 46. If he doe still persist in open and desperate tyrannie, wilfully dissoluing all or the chiefeſt compacts of the common wealth, priuate men must not yet medle with him, onely the Peeres, or the publike assemblie of all states to whom that charge belongeth, must prouide that the Church and Commonwealth come not to desolation: though it cannot otherwise be done, then by the death and destruction of the tyrant. Better it is that an euill king be destroyed, then the Church and state together ruined. Thus farre *Rolloke*. For prooife he referreth his reader first to the 1. Sam. 14. 46. viz. *Then Saul came up from the Philistims, and the Philistims went to their own place.* ergo Kings that are wicked may be reduced to their dutie by the Peeres, or assemblie of states according to the rules of the newe *Puritan logique*. Secondly, for the killing and destroying of kings, he referreth his readers to the 2. regum c. 11. v. 4.5.6.7. which place I thinke he neuer vouchsafed to looke vpon, but set it downe as he found it quoted in *Fenners ditinitie*, from whom he hath taken all the rest.

I will make an end with *William Bacanus*, whose booke was published at the request, and with the approbation of *Bеза* and *Gouartius*, maine pillars of the Church of *Geneva*. 1602. They (saith *Bacanus*) which haue any part of office in the publike administration of the Commonwealth, as the Ouerseers, Senators, Consuls, Peeres, <sup>loc. 76. pag. 814.</sup>

or Tribunes, may restraine the insolencie of euill kings. Thus farre he.

This *Puritan-dangerous* error is directly repugnant to the Law, the Gospel, the precepts of the Apostles, the practise of Martyrs, and the doctrine of the Fathers, Councils, and other classicall Writers, as I haue prooued in the sixe former Chapters: and will more directly shew (by the grace of God) in my other booke: wherein the holy texts of Scripture, which the *Papists* and *Puritans* doe damnable abuse, against the Ecclesiasticall and Civill authoritie of Kings, shall be answered by the godly Protestants: whose labour God vsed to reforme his Church since the yeare of our Lord, 1517. and by the ancient Fathers and orthodoxall Writers in every age of the Church. This *Puritan-position*, which authoriseth Nobles and assemblies of States against wicked kings, is the very assertion of the most seditious Iesuits, that haue liued in our age, as I will demonstrate by two or three: *Iohannes Mariana*, whose booke seemeth to be written in defence of *Clement* the fryer, who stabbed *Henrie* the 3. king of France. The faultes and licentiousnes of kings (saith *Mariana*) whether they raigne by consent of the people, or right of inheritance, are to be borne and endured, so long as the laws of shamefastnes and honestie, whereto all men be bound, are not violated: for Princes should not rashly be disturbed, least the commonwealth fall into greater miserie and calamitie. But if the Prince make haiock of the commonwealth, and expose the priuate fortunes of his subiects for a pray to other men, if he despise law, & contemne religion, this course must be taken against him. Let him be admonished and recalled to his

his dutie: if he repent, satisfie the Wealepublike, and amend his faults, there ought (as I thinke) to be no further proceeding against him. But if there be no hope of his amendment, the commonwealth may take away his kingdome. And because that cannot be done (in all likelihoode) without warre, they may leuie power, brandish their blades against their king, and exact money of the people, for the maintenance of their warre: for when there is no other helpe, the Peeres of the common wealth, having proclaimed their king a publike enemy, may take away his life. Thus farre *Mariana*.

The Statesmen of the Kingdome (saith *Franciscus Feuardentius*) haue a soueraigne power ouer their Kings: In Hester. c. 1. pag. 88. for Kings are not absolutely establisched, but stand bound to obserue lawes, conditions, and compacts, to their subiects: the which, if they violate, they are no lawfull Kings, but theeuers and tyrants, punishable by the states. Thus farre *Feuardentius*.

Inferiour Magistrates (saith *Johannes Baptista Ficklerus*) de iure in 2. gift. fol. 18. are the defenders and protectours of the lawes and rightes of the state, and haue authoritie (if need require) to correct and punish the supreame King. So farre *Ficklerus*.

An English fugitiue, which was the author of the booke *de iusta abdicatione Henrici Tertii*, affirmeth, That all the Maiestic of the kingdome, is in the assembly of Statesmen, to whom it belongeth to make covenants with God, to dispose of the affaires of the kingdome, to appoint matters pertaining to warre and peace, to 1. b. 3. cap. 8. 2. bridle the kingly power, and to settle all things that belong to publique gouernment. So farre he.

And

part. 1. c. 4.  
pag 72.

And the most seditions Dolemane faith, that all humane lawe and order naturall, Nationall, and positive, doth teach, that the coynonwealth, which gaue Kings their authoritie for the common good, may restraine or take the same from them if they abuse it to the common ill: so farre Dolemane, and of this opinion are many other as may appeare by D. Morton by whom they are discouered and refuted.

How farre this gangrene will extend, I knowe not. The kings of Christendome are daily crucified, (as Christ their Lord was) betweene two theeuers; I meane the Papist and Puritan, which haue prepared this deadly povlon for Princes, whom they in their owne irreli-gious and traiterous hearts, shall condemne for tyran-nie. I hope neither Peeres nor people will be so fond to beleue them, or wicked to followe them, which pre-tend the reformation of religion, and defend the subuer-sion of Christian states. If inferiour officers, or the pub-licke assembly of all States, will claime this power, it standeth them vpon, (as they wil avoid euerlasting dam-nation) not to deriuе a title from Rome, Lacedemon, or Athens, (as Calvin doth, whom the rest followe) but from the hill of Sion, and to plead their interest from the law or the gospell. *Si mandatum non est presumptio est, & ad panam proficiet, non ad premium: quia ad contumeliam per-tinet conditoris, ut contemptu Domino colantur servi, & preto Imperatore, adorentur Comites.* If their opposition against Kings be not commanded of God, it is pre-sumption against God: for it is a contumely against God the creator of all states, to despise Lords and honour seruants, to conteine the soueraigne Em-pe-rour,

August. in  
quest. mixt.

tour, and to reuerence the Peeres of the Empire. So farre *Augustine*. *My sonne (faith Salomon) feare God and the King, and meddle not with the seditions: for their destruction shall come sodainly, and who knoweth the end of them?* Prou.34.21.  
 The conclusion of all is, That Kings haue supreme and absolute authoritie vnder God on earth, not because all things are subiect to their pleasure, which were plaine tyrannie, not Christian soueraigntie: but because all persons, within their dominions, stand bound in lawe, allegiance, and conscience, to obey their pleasure, or to abide their punishment. And Kings themselues, are no way subiect to the controwle, censure, or punishment, of any earthly man, but referred by speciall prerogative to the most fearefull and righteous iudgement of God, with whome there is no respect of persons. He whose seruants they are, *will beate them with a rod of iron, and break them in peeces like a potters vessell*, if they abuse that great, and soueraigne power, (which God hath endued them withall,) to support error, to supprese truth, and to oppresse the innocent. God, of his great mercie, graunt vs the spirit of truth, to direc<sup>t</sup> vs in all loyaltie, that we beeing not seduced by these seditious Sectaries, may growe in grace, stand fast in obedience, embrace loue, follow peace, and encrease more and more in the knowledge of our Lord Iesus Christ. To whom be all praise, power, and dominion now and for euer. Amen.

*FINIS.*